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# THE DIVINE KING IN ENGLAND

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THE GOD OF THE WITCHES

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# The Divine King in England

*A Study in Anthropology*

by

Margaret Alice Murray

Here the bones of birth have cried,
Though gods they were, as men they died.
FRANCIS BEAUMONT.
*The Royal Tombs in Westminster Abbey*

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# PREFACE

In this volume I publish the third of my studies of history from an anthropological point of view. In the first study, *The Witch Cult in Western Europe*, I gave the evidence for the actual existence of that ancient religion which lasted for many centuries under a veneer of Christianity. In that study the evidence was taken chiefly from the judicial trials of the so-called 'witches'. These showed the ancient pre-Christian creed—The Dianic Cult—in its decadence, though still strong enough to cause its devotees to die for their faith. It was also clear that the organization, then confined almost entirely to villages and peasants, must have belonged at one time to the higher ranks of society, and that the religion so firmly held was not a religion of transitory growth.

In the second study, *The God of the Witches*, I brought forward the proofs that the dogma of the Incarnate God, the Divine King, was held into late historic times by both king and people, and that, as in many other ancient cults, the Incarnate God was doomed to be sacrificed either in his own person or in that of his substitute, for the good of his subjects. The careers of William Rufus, Thomas à Becket, Joan of Arc, and Gilles de Rais, show that these persons fulfilled the conditions of the Divine Victim in their lives and in their deaths.

In the present volume I have studied the ancient religion when it was still almost in full strength, when its dogma of the divinity and sacrifice of the Divine King was still passionately held, when the king accepted that fate as one of the conditions of royalty, and when men and women could be found willing to die as substitutes for their God.

In my earlier books I took my evidence from the countries

of western Europe as well as from the British Isles. In this study, however, I have deliberately confined myself to the English evidence, only using the Scottish either to confirm the English evidence or to show that the ancient Dianic Paganism underlay Christianity throughout the whole of Great Britain, and influenced the lives of all the people from the highest to the lowest. There is no doubt that similar practices and beliefs prevailed in other European countries, but the evidence in England appears to be fuller and more varied than elsewhere. Many of those strange and apparently purposeless murders which disfigure the pages of the history of all countries, will be found on investigation to take their origin in a religious motive, and may be regarded as sacrifices and not as murders.

I owe to my late sister, Mrs. Mary Slater, the suggestion that there were two substitutes for the Divine King, one when he had reached the age of a multiple of seven—the Personal Victim—the other when he had reigned seven or a multiple of seven years—the Regnal Victim. To Mr. G. A. Wainwright I owe very hearty thanks for his unfailing help and encouragement during the years of preparing this volume.

# INTRODUCTION

To all anthropologists the theory of the Divine King is well known, and is an accepted fact as existing in many countries of the eastern Mediterranean in pre-Christian times, or as surviving to the present day among certain barbarous peoples. But there seems to be a general idea that in western Europe Christianity was adopted at once and whole-heartedly by every nation and that the fundamentals of Paganism were completely and expeditiously obliterated.

This was far from being the case. The Old Religion died hard and died fighting. Throughout the long history of England it is possible to trace the gradual decay of the ancient creed, which was due partly to the introduction of a new and ardently proselytizing religion, but chiefly to the inevitable changes in human conditions which alter the conception of the relations between God and man. The change was slow, but it is possible to show that at least once in every reign from William the Conqueror to James I the sacrifice of the Incarnate God was consummated either in the person of the king or in that of his substitute. In early times the Substitute Victim was appointed and sacrificed at the mere command of the king; later on, though the king might command, the sacrifice was disguised as the result of a judicial sentence after a travesty of a trial. These judicial murders have taxed the ingenuity of all writers to explain, for they set at nought all the principles of human justice and of the Christian religion to which both king and judges are supposed to have belonged.

Until the sixteenth century the clergy were the dominant factor in the literary world, especially as annalists. Ecclesiastics also held the highest administrative posts in the king-

dom. Under the Plantagenets no government was complete without at least one bishop holding some high office. Practically the last of these highly placed administrative bishops was Wolsey, who though a cardinal and an archbishop, was the actual ruler of the whole kingdom. It was natural that a bishop in the time of the Normans and early Plantagenets should be given a place of trust, for the ecclesiastics were then among the few men who had any claim to literacy. But under the later Plantagenets and the Tudors this state of things was an anomaly, for many of the nobles, besides the merchants and their clerks, were educated, and were as capable as any bishop of managing the affairs of state. The peasantry, however, were ignorant and illiterate, and it was among them that the Old Religion survived until the eighteenth century.

When dealing with the problems of those apparently capricious and tyrannical executions, which were not infrequent until the seventeenth century, modern historians often attempt to judge the characters of the persons concerned. But they would appear to be trying to read into those characters the sentiments and beliefs of modern Christianity. Yet it is certain that the Old Religion was still a living force, driven underground by the persecution of the Christian lawgivers, but often becoming all the stronger for that very reason. The clergy as the most educated persons in the community were the original chroniclers, but they were undoubtedly so biased in favour of their own religion as to be unfair to those who did not agree with them. 'For you muste vnderstande that these monasticall persones, lerned and vnliterate, better fed then taught, toke on them to write & register in the boke of fame, the noble actes, the wise dooynges, the politike gouernances of kynges and princes, in whiche cronographie, if a kyng gaue to them possessions or graunted them liberties or exalted them to honor & worldly dignitee, he was called a sainct, he was praised without any deserte aboue the Moone, his genealogie was written, and not one iote that might exalt his fame, was ether forgotten or omitted. But if a christian prince had touched their liberties or claimed any part iustly of their possessions, or would haue intermitted in their holy francheses, or desired

aide of them against his and their common enemies: then tonges talked and pennes wrote, that he was a tirant, a depresser of holy religion, an enemie to Christes Churche and his holy flocke, and a damned and accursed persone with Dathan and Abiram in the depe pitte of hell.'[1]

The belief in the divinity of the victim, whether royal or substitute, was actually so strong that the Church was compelled to acknowledge the popular feeling. As Christianity admits the existence of only one Incarnate God, the Church compromised by canonizing many of the sacrificed victims, comparing them in unmistakable terms with Christ Himself. Even the most unlikely persons received canonization, special services were written for them, hymns were chanted in their honour, and miracles occurred with such frequency at their tombs that those tombs became shrines and places of pilgrimage. Earl Waltheof, Thomas à Becket, Simon de Montfort ('who, like Christ, gave his life for many'[2]) Thomas of Lancaster,[3] Edward II, Henry VI, are among those whose miracles performed after death showed that they had died as gods.

Throughout the centuries, from the introduction of Christianity till the Civil Wars cleared away much of the old civilization, the steady warfare between the two religions can be followed in all its phases. In spite of the biased accounts of the priestly recorders, the Old Paganism can be seen among the Saxons, the Normans, the Plantagenets, the Tudors, and the two early Stuart kings. All the early Christian missionaries were foreigners, distrusted as foreigners always have been by the English. The missionaries followed the example of Augustine and devoted themselves to the conversion of the kings, who could give them grants of lands and let them live under his royal protection. From that secure position, made more and more secure as time went on, Christianity could wage its unceasing war on the Dianic

[1] Hall, p. 15.

[2] Wright, *Political Songs*, p. 89. See also Appendix 1a, p. 217.

[3] Thomas of Lancaster was far from being a saint in his lifetime. Stubbs describes him as 'a strong, unscrupulous, coarse and violent man. Rude, insolent, treacherous, selfish, unwarlike, an adulterer and a murderer'. Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, ii, pp. 350, 380. See also Appendix 1b, p. 217.

Paganism. The power of the Church grew as its wealth increased, but there was one great impediment to the complete subjection of the country to the Church, and that was the fierce insularity of the English. Many of the priests and a large number of the bishops were foreigners, owning allegiance to a foreign potentate and not to the English king. The belief in the divinity of the king must be taken into account when dealing with the religious troubles before and during Tudor times. To his subjects, whether Christian or Pagan, the English king was God Incarnate, and could not be subject to any other monarch, royal, imperial, or ecclesiastical.

Great political and social changes naturally affected the form of the religion, and often gave the Church more power. The Norman Conquest, when whole counties were laid waste and depopulated, gave the opportunity to monks to settle and obtain large grants of land. The Black Death in a few months changed the whole of the economic structure of the country, and this was followed by the Peasant Revolt which Richard II crushed utterly, but which also placed a great part of the kingdom under the heel of the Church, as happened in that great seminary for the training of priests, Cambridge. The Wars of the Roses broke the power of the barons, but did little towards the Christianizing of the people though the coming of a new dynasty with a dubious title to the throne made it necessary for the kings to endear themselves to all classes. Henry VIII by his suppression of the monasteries made a new distribution of wealth, and by making himself the Supreme Head of the Church he not only enforced the doctrine of his divinity, a belief which was held by the greater number of his subjects, but his action also freed the country from the domination claimed by the Pope, and so appealed to the political feeling of his people.

It was not until the Reformation that the people began to be Christian and to abandon the Old Religion. It is, however, an important point to remember in the study of the ancient cult in Great Britain, that wherever the ancient Paganism lasted longest and was held most firmly, there the Reformation was received and held most fanatically. The East Anglian counties were still practising the ancient beliefs and its

rituals, when the other parts of England were entirely Christian. And it was from the East Anglian counties that Cromwell drew his Ironsides, knowing that the only power which could successfully oppose fanatical loyalty was fanatical religion.

The consecutive reigns of a boy king and two queens weakened the belief in the divinity of the sovereign, and the mortal struggle between the two forms of Christianity in the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth forced men and women to look to their creeds and hold or change them with passionate intensity. It was then that the Old Paganism really died except in remote villages. Here the absolute submission of the covens to their local chief and their implicit obedience to him made them often a political danger, for they carried into practice the rule of life of the Christian, 'The Will of God be done.' It was in the reign of Elizabeth that it became common to stigmatize the members of the Old Religion as witches and their God as the Devil.

The coming of the Scottish monarchs revived the belief in the divinity of the king only among the court circles and a few of the great nobles. Whatever may have been the case in Scotland, it is certain that when James I first came to the English throne that belief was dead in England, and Charles I's misguided attempts to revive it resulted only in the ruin of himself and his friends. The continued absence of both James I and Charles I from Scotland combined with the fanatical zeal of the kirk so weakened the belief there that when Charles in his despair turned to Scotland for aid, none was forthcoming, and he was delivered into the hands of his enemies.

The period of the Commonwealth, short though it was, stifled the remnants of the Old Paganism. The old dramas, the old dances, the old sports, which had been part of the ritual of the Old Religion, were so sternly suppressed that a few only have survived as rustic festivals in remote villages. The last poor remains of the belief in the Divine King are seen at the deaths of Charles II and James II; under Dutch William and his successors even those poor remains vanished completely.

During all those centuries when the two religions were

striving for the mastery, many persons, including nobles and ecclesiastics of high rank, succeeded in combining both religions to their own satisfaction, and often to their own profit. This was the case of Walter de Gray, archbishop of York in Henry III's reign. He died on a sacrificial day, 1st May (1255), and of him it was said, 'Lay no hand on the corn, for the archbishop and all that he has is the devil's due.'[1] Then there was the Bishop of Coventry, who, in 1303, was reported to have paid homage to the Devil in the form of a sheep.[2] Edward III, by his action in claiming the garter—the symbol of the Chief of the Old Religion—for his own,[3] showed that he was well aware of the widespread beliefs and practices of the old Dianic Cult. James I with his belief in his own divinity, was clearly not a Christian in the modern sense. If, then, even the king could hold to the ancient creed and combine it with the belief in Christ, it is not surprising that lesser folk did the same. The disguising of the human sacrifice under the form of capital punishment after a judicial sentence, shows that, as in many other cases, the custom remained though the name and explanation of the custom were changed.

[1] Stow, p. 183. [2] Rymer, i, Part 2, p. 956.
[3] Murray, *God of the Witches*, pp. 74–6.

Chapter One

# THE DIVINE KING

*The Living God is among you.*
Joshua iii, 10

One of the earliest forms of religion in western Europe appears to have been the belief that God could be incarnate in Man. The man was thus endowed with the creative power of the Almighty, and on him depended the fertility and prosperity of the tribe to which he belonged. Usually he became the ruler or king of the people, and it is this aspect of the Divine Man which is presented here.

The life-giving Spirit of God was caused to enter into the chosen man at a special ceremony, which later developed into the enthroning of the king, and still later into the coronation. After this ceremony the Divine Man was credited with the power of giving or withholding fertility in the whole of his kingdom; crops, animals, and human beings were all subject to his power in this respect. It is uncertain whether this belief began in the pastoral period and was later applied to agriculture, or whether the new and important invention of tilling the ground first brought in the idea and extended it afterwards to animals and human beings.

Judged by the survivals of the primitive form of the cult, it seems that the man to be deified was chosen by the people for some special quality inherent in him. Then, as God, he became the ruler of the people, i.e. the king. Even after the kingship became hereditary the election still remained, not always as a dead letter but as a living fact. It must, however, be remembered that 'on the primitive view a man is not chosen to be the mouthpiece or embodiment of god on account of his high moral qualities or social rank. The

divine afflatus descends equally on the good and the bad, on the lofty and the lowly.'[1]

The belief in the divinity of the king is seldom formulated in words until a comparatively late period. In early times literacy was confined almost entirely to Christian priests, who were naturally biased in their outlook. One of the earliest references to the divinity of the king of England is from Pierre le Blois, then living at the court of Henry II (*circa* 1170): 'Je l'avoue, assister le roi, c'est (pour un clerc) accomplir une chose sainte, car le roi est saint; il est le Christ du Seigneur.'[2] Wiclif was very definite in his views: 'The king is God's vicar in things temporal, as is the priest in things spiritual. But the dignity of the king is superior to that of the priest, for the king reflects the godhead of Christ, the priest only his manhood.'[3]

When the chroniclers liken the king to God, this is not mere fulsome flattery, they are stating what they believe to be fact. The references, though few in number, are often interesting. The description of Edward III shows the estimation in which he was held: 'Elegant in body, having a countenance like unto God, because so much grace shone forth marvellously in him, that if anyone should have looked at his face openly, or dreamt about him by night, on that day he expected with assurance favourable and happy events.'[4]

Very remarkable is the instruction for the Royal Covens, the Knights of the Garter, concerning their behaviour on entering the Chapel of St. George for a State service. 'The knights do first with a settled Countenance, and staid Behaviour, bending one Knee before their Sovereign, if there, or if absent, to his Stall, as is required, and then turning, go to the Altar in a grave and solemn Manner to return due Honour to God; after which, moving to the Saints, especially to St. George, sometimes to the Confessor Edward, and

[1] Frazer, *The Scapegoat*, p. 273; ed. 1913.

[2] Bloch, p. 41 (Pierre le Blois, t. 207, col. 440 D).

[3] Wiclif, *De Officio Regis*, 12–14.

[4] Murimuth, p. 226. Corpore elegans, vultum habens deo similem, quia tanta gratia in eo mirifice relucebat, ut siquis in ejus faciem palam respexisset, vel nocte de illo somniasset, illo die indubie speravit sibi jucunda solatia et prospera evenire.

the pious Henry, pay them their Respects, adore, pray to, and salute them with humble Devotion.'[1] The knights knelt first to the king, the living God, or to his stall, the throne of God; they then knelt to the crucifix, the dying God, or to the altar, the throne of God; afterwards they 'paid their Respects' to various saints, according to choice. Henry V tried to alter this custom, but apparently without effect: 'The most divine King (Rex divinissimus) declared it was much more rational and fitting, That they should first bow and pay due Honour to the King, who is truly supreme and almighty, the Lord God, and to his Altar, and then whatever Honour they owed to him, they might also discharge, paying their Deference to him or his Stall (as they believed they ought).'[2]

In the trial of the earls of Arundel and Warwick in 1397, the Speaker of the Parliament, Sir John Burke, addressed the king. 'The said Sir Iohn Burke in all his propositions to the king, did not onely attribute to him worldly honours, but diuyne names, inuentying flatteryng wordes, and vnused termes, and to a mortall man not conuenient, for as oft as he spake vnto the king in his Throne, he cast his handes abrode, as he had adoured and worshipped God, besechynge his excelse, high, and adorant Majestie, that he woulde witsafe to graunt him this or that.'[3]

When Henry IV brought Richard II as a captive to London he rode through the city. 'There the people shouted after him through the streets, "Long live the good duke of Lancaster!" and blessed him in their language, with great show of joy and pleasure; insomuch that I think if our Lord had come down among them they could not have shown more.'[4] Henry V, always a national hero, returning triumphant after his marriage, 'crossed the channel to England, where he was received as if he had been an angel from God'.[5] In 1450 the Duke of Suffolk, before starting on the disastrous journey which ended in his death, wrote to his son urging him that next to God 'above alle erthely thyng, to be

[1] *Register*, ii, p. 30
[2] Ibid, ii, p. 76 (Act of Henry V; 10th year).
[3] Grafton, i, p. 466.
[4] *Archaeologia*, xx (1824), p. 180 (French Metrical History).
[5] Monstrelet, ii, Ch. 118, p. 306.

trewe liege man in hart, in wille, in thought, in dede, unto the Kyng, oure alder most high and dredde sovereygne Lord, to whom bothe ye and I been so moche bounde to; chargyng you, as fader can and may, rather to die than to be the contrarye, or to knowe any thyng that were ayenste the welfare or prosperite of his most riall person, but that as ferre as your body and lyf may strecthe, ye lyve and die to defende it'.[1]

The facts show that England was not alone in believing that the king was God Incarnate, other countries held the same doctrine. Two instances are perhaps worth noting here; the emperor Frederick in 1177 'caused oath to be made on his soul',[2] and two hundred years later it is recorded in Scotland that the great oath was not by God but by the soul of the king.[3] This suggests very strongly that the soul of the king was believed to be actually the spirit of God. The Scottish kings must have held this belief with great firmness, for nothing else will account for the almost passionate belief of James I and his son in their own divinity. This belief was shared by numbers of the clergy in both countries, though a great part of the laity were by that time rapidly becoming averse to it. The English clergy were almost unanimous in regarding the king as 'the Lord's Anointed' and 'God's Vicegerent'.

James I was a great exponent of this doctrine. In 1587, when making a show of remonstrating against the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, he wrote to Elizabeth, 'What law of God can permit that justice shall strike upon them whom he has appointed supreme dispensators of the same, under Him, whom he hath called Gods, and therefore subjected to the censures of none in earth, whose anointing by God cannot be defiled by men unrevenged by the author thereof, who being supreme and immediate lieutenant of God in heaven cannot therefore be judged by their equals in earth.'[4] In 1602, not long before his accession to the throne of England, he wrote to Cecil, 'For my part, I hold it the office of a king, *as sitting upon the throne of God*, so to imitate the primum

[1] Paston letters, ii, p. 142, Letter 117.
[2] Roger of Hoveden, i, p. 460.
[3] Tytler, *History of Scotland*, i, pp. 29, 35.
[4] Cal. Scottish Pap., ix, pp. 247–8. Spelling modernized.

mobile, and by his steady and ever constant course to govern all other changeable and uncertain motions of the inferior planets.'[1] Even after he had been king of England for seven years, his speech to parliament in 1610 shows that he had not changed his opinion. 'Kings are justly called Gods, for that they exercise a manner or resemblance of divine power upon earth; for if you will consider the attributes to God, you shall see how they agree in the person of a King. God hath power to create or destroy, make or unmake, at his pleasure; to give life or send death, to judge all, and to be judged nor accountable to none, to raise low things and to make high things low at his pleasure, and to God are both soul and body due. And the like power have kings; they make and unmake their subjects; they have power of raising up and casting down, of life and of death; judges over all their subjects and in all causes and yet accountable to none save God only. They have power to exalt low things and abase high things, and make of their subjects like men at the chess: a pawn to take a bishop or a knight, and to cry up or down any of their subjects as they do their money. And to the king is due both the affection of the soul and the service of the body of his subjects. . . I conclude then this point touching the power of kings, with this axiom of divinity, that as to dispute what God may do is blasphemy . . . so it is sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the plenitude of his power.'[2]

A good example of the feeling towards the king is seen in the letter of J. Lesley, Dep.C. to James Harington, author of a book called *Oceana*. Lesley's letter was published in 1612 under the title of *A Slap on the Snout of the Republican Swine that rooteth up Monarchy*. 'Why do you stirr up the people to imagine a vain thing, and set themselves against the Anointed? . . . The whole is to disturb the peace again, and fill the people with notions of Kings doing wrong, which all earthly wisdom and divine information prove they cannot do; for whatever is of God is pure and perfect. . . . You cannot be a good man, for Fear God, and Honour the King, are both in one place, and support each other as the corner stones of religion and royalty. But you have dishonoured both. . . .

[1] Birch, *Memoirs*, ii, p. 515. Italics are mine.

[2] King James I, *Works*, pp. 529, 531.

You cannot do a better deed than burn the work [*Oceana*] which will continue to sin when you are no more able to sin, and for ever prevent the shadow of mercy from approaching you; for to him that fighteth against Kings, there can be no peace or quarter from the King of Kings.'[1]

James's own opinion of his position is shown very clearly in the *Memoirs* of Sully, who says that the king 'caused only Beaumont and myself to sit down at his table, when I was not a little surprised to observe that he was always served on the knee'.[2] James was the first of the kings of England to whom the title *Sacred* Majesty was applied.[3] As late as 1625 the bishop of Chester preached openly that 'Kings are ordained by God; and not only so, but they are themselves Gods, which cannot be said to have been invented by the servile flattery and desires to please of the Heathen, but the truth itself shows it so clearly in Holy Writ that no one can deny it without blasphemy or doubt it without sacrilege.'[4]

But it is evident that there were during this reign more and more people who no longer accepted the theory of the divinity of the king. There are two accounts of the conference of clergy, both Church and Puritans, at Hampton Court in 1604, James acting as Moderator. 'You need not doubt which Party prevailed, the Nobility and Bishops not only giving the King the Victory, with the Epithets of *The* Solomon *of the Age*, *The most Learned*, but of *being inspired*.'[5] Harington, who had been accustomed to the quiet dignity of Elizabeth's court, records his impression of the conference, 'The King talked much Latin, but he rather used upbraidings than argument. . . . The bishops seemed pleased, and said his majesty spoke by the power of inspiration. I wist not what they meant, but the spirit was rather foul mouthed.'[6]

James's own opinion is best summed up in his own words addressed to his son: 'Therefore (my Sonne) first of all things, learne to know and love that God, whome to ye haue

[1] Harington, *Nugae Antiquae*, (ed. 1769) i, pp. 84–5.
[2] *Memoires de Sully*, liv. XV.
[3] Aikin, *Memoirs of the Court of James I* (1822), i, p. 190.
[4] Coke, *Detection*, p. 37.
[5] Coke, *Detection*, p. 37.
[6] Harington, *Nugae*, i, p. 181; Vaughan, *Memorials*, i, p. 109.

a double obligation; first, for that he made you a man; and next, for that he made you a little God to sitte on his Throne, and rule ouer other men.'[1]

Feeling, of course, ran high during the troubles in Charles I's reign, for the religious and political differences were complicated by the exaggerated opinions on both sides regarding the position of the king. Many thinking persons realized that much of the blame for the outbreak was due to James I for encouraging the theory of the actual divinity of the king, 'I am persuaded', says Sir Edward Peyton, 'that the adoring of Kings hath wrought this Misprision and Mistake of the Power of Kings, which by Laws of God and Man they have not; so that the idolizing them hath ruined the Right of the People.'[2] Osborne could write in defence of the sanctity of the king's person, as when he accused those concerned in the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, of committing a crime, 'forgetting that the persons of princes have been thought by all wise men too sacred to have any hand or justice appeare in their death but Gods'. Yet he could also write, 'From the pulpit came all our future miseries. The court-sermons informing his Majesty, he might as Christ's vice-gerent command all, and that the people, if they denied him supplement, or inquired after the disposer of it, were presumptuous peepers unto the sacred arke of the state; not to be done but under the severest curse.'[3]

The Restoration gave all the adherents to the doctrine of the divinity of the king a great opportunity to air their views. One of the most ardent exponents of the doctrine was the Rev. Richard Burney, whose eight sermons on the subject state the belief in the plainest terms, fortified by innumerable texts from Holy Writ. He starts with a dedicatory to Charles II: '*May it please your Excellent Majestie* to character these sermons with your Highnesse's serenity, as Divine: which are circumspectly penn'd according to the Analogie of a pure faith, and the tincture of the laws of the Land, which were preach'd with zeal, and come without festimancie to the Presse: for these 3 moneths they have deliberated with a due

[1] James I, *Basilikon Doron*, book i, p. 2.
[2] Peyton, *Divine Catastrophe*, p. 53.
[3] Osborne, *Secret History*, i, pp. 37, 193.

devotion, like the three cringes in your Majesties Chappel, to revere that sacred Person, that sits in Gods Throne, whom we see daily, but not under a common notion of Aspect.'[1]

He goes on to 'behold and consider the Majesty of Kings, which flows down from heaven; and their very persons do represent God, as being more excellent, because of his unity'.[2] And 'The true and natural Prince of a Nation, that has undoubted right, sits full in Gods Throne of Judgement.'[3] He quotes Charles II's charge to the judges, which shows that Charles really considered that he was in the place of God: 'I am set in God Almighties place to weigh with the scales and ballance of the Sanctuary (as I am his Anointed) all your proceedings, to animadvert that perfect justice to be done to all my people in the land with severe impartiality.'[4] But Burney shows clearly that he believed in the Godhead of Kings, when he states in so many words, 'The Holy Lamb and King Charles the First do Reign for ever.'[5]

Filmer emphasizes the impossibility of wrongdoing by the king: 'To *Majesty* or *Sovereignty* belongeth an *Absolute Power* not subject to any Law. It behoveth him that is a Sovereign, not to be in any sort subject to the command of another; whose office it is to give Lawes unto his subjects, to abrogate Lawes unprofitable, and in their *stead* to establish other, which he cannot do, that is himself subject to Lawes; or to others which have command over him: And that is it for which the Law saith, that *The Prince is acquitted from the Power of the* Lawes.... The Prince, whom you may justly call the Father of the Country, ought to be to every man dearer and more Reverend than any Father, as one Ordained and sent unto us by God. The subject is never to be suffered to attempt any thing against the Prince, how naughty and cruel soever he be; Lawful it is not to obey him in things contrary to the Lawes of God, to flie and hide ourselves from him; but yet to suffer stripes, yea, and death also, rather than attempt any thing against his Life and Honour.'[6]

[1] Burney, *Kerdiston Doron*, p. A 2.
[2] Ibid., p 24.
[3] Ibid., p. 55.
[4] Burney, *Kerdiston Doron*, p. 102.
[5] Ibid., p. 7.
[6] Filmer, *The Necessity of the Absolute Power of all Kings, and in particular of the King of England* (ed. 1648), pp. 1, 11.

Filmer also remarks in another work, 'If any mislike this Divinity in *England*, let him but hearken to Bracton, Chief Justice in *Henry* the Third's days, which was since the Institution of *Parliaments*, his words are, speaking of the King, *Omnes sub Eo, & Ipse sub nullo nisi tantum sub Deo.* All are under him, and he under none, but God only.'[1]

Dr. South, preaching before Charles II, said in his sermon, 'The absolute subjection men yield to princes, comes from a secret working of the divine power, investing sovereign princes with certain marks and rays of that divine image, which overawes and controls the spirits of men, they know not how or why.'[2]

It is a curious fact that in law the king still retains some of the attributes of God. 'The law of England attributes to the king *absolute perfection, immortality and ubiquity.* The king of England is, in theory, incapable not only of doing wrong but of thinking wrong; and in him there is no folly or weakness. When the *real* king dies, his politic body escapes from his natural body, and by a sort of legal metempsychosis, enters into the natural body of his successor. It is said by lawyers that the politic body of the sovereign includes in it the natural body, and the natural body has in it the politic body.'[3]

At all periods an essential of the creed was the belief that the indwelling Spirit of the Creator would follow the physical condition of the human body in which it had its abode. As long as the divine Man was strong and vigorous the Spirit was strong and vigorous also, and the worshippers were prosperous. But as soon as he showed signs of the weakness of illness or the decay of old age, measures had to be taken to remove the Spirit from the weakening body lest it also should sicken; and if he should die of illness or old age, it was believed that the spirit would die also, and the people would then decay and perish.

In order to prevent so great a disaster, the Divine Man was killed, and the spirit thus released was then placed in a

[1] Filmer, *Patriarcha or the Natural Power of Kings* (ed. 1685), p. 91.

[2] Quoted in Amos, *Great Oyer*, p. 518.

[3] Amos, *The Great Oyer*, p. 508. Corpus incorporatum in corpore naturali, et corpus naturale in corpore corporato.

new and strong body. But the killing of the divinity was not a matter to be lightly undertaken; it was essentially a religious rite which was performed in the presence of the people. The dead body was cut to pieces and the fragments distributed for burial in different parts of the kingdom. The theory appears to have been that the body which had once been inhabited by the creative power of God, was still so instinct with life that it would ensure fertility in all places where even a small part of it was buried.

The record of these beliefs is late in the history of mankind. The earliest known is the legendary history of the Egyptian king and god Osiris, who was put to death by suffocation, his body torn to pieces and the fragments buried in different parts of the country. Romulus, the legendary founder of Rome, is said to have been cut to pieces by the patricians, who carried the pieces away under their robes and buried them in the earth.[1] A similar custom was practised in early Scandinavia; King Halfdan the Black was drowned in the spring when the ice was breaking; his body was divided into three pieces, one piece being buried in each of the three provinces of his kingdom. The reason for this treatment of the dead king is plainly recorded, it is stated that harvests had been so plentiful during his reign that each province desired a part of his body in order that such prosperity might continue. The practice of dismembering the royal body and distributing the fragments was common under the Plantagenets, disappears under the Tudors, and was revived to a slight extent by the Stuarts, for the body of James II was partially dismembered, and the fragments buried in more than one church.[2]

Though, according to the creed of the Dianic Cult, it was necessary for the divine king to die for his people, it was

[1] Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquitates Romanae*. Quoted by Frazer, *Scapegoat* (ed. 1936), p. 258.

[2] 'He was embalmed, and part of his Bowells being carryed to the Parish Church of St. Germain the rest were sent to the English College at St. Omers, the Braines and Fleshy part of the head to the Scotch College at Paris. . . . As soon therefore as this distribution was made and everything prepared for carrying away the body, they set out with it towards the Church of the English Benedictin monks in Paris . . . they left his heart at Challiot.' J. S. Clarke, *Life of James the Second*, ii, p. 603.

equally necessary that his life should be carefully protected from all harm and danger until the time came for the sacrifice. All his worshippers, i.e. all his subjects, were bound to die for their God; to save him from danger, their lives were nothing in comparison with his. As long as he was in full health and strength, no-one would raise a finger against his sacred person; but when his time had come, no-one would lift a finger to save him. It was not difficult to find men willing to kill the Royal Victim when his death was due; but for an unauthorized person to kill the Divine Man, or to kill him when still in the full strength of his manhood, was regarded as combining sacrilege and blasphemy with murder and high treason, and such a man was outside the pale and beyond all human sympathy. This was the case with the slayer of Richard I, whose deliberately aimed arrow killed the king in the wrong month of the wrong year. Though Richard forgave his slayer, the wretched man was flayed alive.

Because the king was regarded as God with the divine power of giving fertility, 'it must be remembered that acts of ceremonial licence are not mere indulgence, but that they express a reverent attitude towards the forces of generation and fertility in man and nature, forces on which the very existence of society and culture depends'.[1] This function of the Incarnate God was one of the chief accusations brought against the Royal Victim—Rufus, John, Edward II, and Richard II—by the contemporary historians, to whom, as it is always necessary to remember, anything savouring of Paganism was devilish and anathema. There is no proof that any one of those four kings was better or worse in the matter of sexual morality than his predecessors, successors, or contemporaries. They probably only carried out a function for which in pagan times a king was appointed. This fact is clearly seen in the records of the non-royal covens of Great Britain and France.[2]

As no religion is static, changes modified this fundamental belief in course of time. The changes in social conditions, caused by the inevitable changes in human affairs, always

[1] Malinowski, p. 41. [2] Murray, *Witch Cult*, pp. 175 seq.

affect the form of religion; new ideas are introduced and are superimposed on the old beliefs and are finally completely absorbed. All ancient religions show this phenomenon, which is sometimes so marked as to resemble the stratification of a geological section.

The new stratum which overlay the old belief shows an advance in thought. Though it was still necessary to kill the Divine Man, his death was not merely to prevent sterility but was also to clear away evil from among the people. It is quite unknown as to when this new idea came into existence, but it seems to have been evolved as the result of living in close groups, such as towns and villages, instead of roaming from place to place as hunters or nomads. Settled peoples are largely dependent on agriculture, and agriculture is dependent on forces of nature over which man has no control. Epidemics are found among settled peoples, and famine or pestilence could sweep away whole settlements, taking a toll of life unknown among nomads. It is then obvious that the primitive religion had to be modified in accordance with the experience of people living in comparatively settled communities.

Pestilence and famine were not the only phenomena which man could not control. Storms, floods, drought, earthquakes, all these were clearly beyond man's puny efforts, and were seen to be from a power vastly superior to man, which could kill or make alive, which could destroy as well as create. To the primitive mind it would appear that the Deity was offended for some reason and was sending punishment upon His worshippers for sins or faults committed by the people as a whole. Here the idea of making the killing of the Divine Man into a propitiatory sacrifice appears to have been so incorporated into the religion that it is difficult to see the junction. But it is always clear that the human sacrifice for the appeasement of the God differs in origin from the sacrificing of the Divine Man at a set period.

Besides the changes caused by natural advancement of thought, practical necessity often brings unexpected changes in a religion, and the Dianic Cult was no exception to the rule. A difficulty arose from the practice of having to find a new king every seven years, especially if the king then ruling

was a great warrior or a wise chief. To obviate this difficulty it became the custom to appoint a substitute to take the king's place. For a period of time, varying from a few weeks to a few years, the substitute acted as king, wielding the royal power, and often completely overshadowing the real monarch. But the end was always the same, he was suddenly cast down from his high estate, then by the will of the king or by judicial condemnation on some trumped-up charge, he was put to death.

In England there appears to have been a regular and clearly defined pattern which can be traced in the careers of the Substitute Victims, though there are occasional lapses from the norm. A layman should be royal by birth or at least connected by marriage with the king, but this rule was not enforced for a non-royal ecclesiastic. But whether layman or priest, he rose to the highest power, and became the actual, but not the nominal ruler. While he was supreme the king protected him in every way, refusing to listen to a word against him. But when the monarch's age or the years of his reign reached a multiple of seven, the Victim was sacrificed without mercy. The sacrifice took place in one of the sacrificial months of the Old Religion, February, May, August, or November. As he was led to his death, the streets and roads were often filled with crowds, weeping, mourning, and lamenting; cloths dipped in his blood and chips of the blood-stained scaffold were carried away as sacred relics credited with healing powers. The body was dismembered and the parts distributed to different places in the country in exactly the same way as the body of the Divine King was distributed.

In the earliest times of which there are records, the sacrifice of the substitute took place at the will of the king. The use of a trial to disguise the sacrifice under the form of legality first occurs under William the Conqueror. It is remarkable how often the Substitute Victims accepted their fate, even going to meet it, as did Oswin and Becket; they went as a lamb to the slaughter. When the substitute was to be put to death by judicial sentence, he was always arraigned on a capital charge, usually high treason, for that was the most heinous of all crimes and one for which the

evidence could be most easily arranged.[1] In almost every instance the victims hotly, and probably truthfully, denied the charge on which they were condemned, the innocence of the victim being an essential quality in such a sacrifice, which was propitiatory for the cleansing of the sins of the whole kingdom. The offering, therefore, had to be without blemish either in person or character, and no guilty person could be fit for the purpose. On the scaffold, in the very presence of death, the victim often made a general confession of sin towards God, acknowledging that for those sins he was worthy to die, but steadfastly denying that he had committed the crime for which he had been sentenced.

It was often necessary to accuse other persons in order to obtain the essential evidence for the conviction of the destined substitute. Such witnesses might be so inculpated as to suffer death also, or they might obtain pardon if they would 'confess' and so ensure the death of the victim. The trial of the earl of Arundel under Richard II shows that the evidence was pressed against him only; the earl of Warwick, tried at the same time for the same crime, begged for mercy and obtained it. In the case of Anne Boleyn, the crime of which she was accused and found guilty required partners; the whole case and their own fates hung upon the evidence which only she and they could give; if she were innocent, they were innocent also; but if she were found (not necessarily *proved*) guilty, they were guilty and shared her condemnation.

The Substitute Victim can often be distinguished from the real traitor by the obvious falseness of the charge brought against him, and also by the fact that though he was 'attainted in blood' and his estates escheated to the king, after the lapse of a few years—or even of months—his children were 'restored in blood' and the whole or the greater part of his estate returned to them.

The method of choosing and appointing the substitute is uncertain. If the ritual murders of Oswin and Eanfred are

[1] According to Sir Francis Bacon, 'in Treason there be no accessories, but all are principals. In Treason, no council is to be allowed, nor bail permitted to the party. . . . In Treason, no witness shall be received upon oath for the party's justification.' *Cases of Treason*, Harl. Misc. V., p. 318.

any guide, it would seem that among the Saxons the overlord chose the victim and appointed the time. Though the accounts are brief they show that the murders were performed openly and without disguise, that there was no resistance on the part of the victim and no remorse or repentance on the part of the murderer, there was no punishment or execration of the murderer and no blood feud followed. The killing seems to have been accepted by the people without comment or complaint, as if it were a matter of course. Similar behaviour of both victim and populace on such occasions can be seen in the fuller accounts of the disguised sacrifices of later times.

Under the Plantagenets and Tudors the power of the king to choose the victim and appoint the date of the sacrifice is seen only in the cases of Becket and Richard II. The evidence suggests that the power had passed to the coven, as in the cases of Piers Gaveston, Edward II (murdered by 'Syr Roger de Mortimer et autres de sa covyne'), Rizzio who was killed by thirteen 'conspirators'.

The village covens, though the record is late in date, kept up the early custom, and it was the chief who obtained his own substitute. 'In the evidence of some of the trials the Devil is said to have promised that for a term of years the witch should have wealth and power, but at the end of the time he should claim her. Tradition says that he came in person to "fetch" her, and there are many gruesome stories of his coming at the appointed hour. In many cases the exact length of the lease of life is mentioned, the term is for seven years or a multiple of seven.'[1]

The attitude of many of the Substitute Victims shows that they were well aware of their ultimate fate. Joan of Arc is a well-known example, 'many times she said to him [the Dauphin] I shall live a year, barely longer. During that year let as much as possible be done.'[2] Anne Boleyn seems to have been another victim who knew what was in store for her and accepted death in a joyful spirit. There is, however, another substitute whose death has never been explained, but has remained as a strange and unaccountable phenomenon. This was that grim Covenanter, Major Thomas Weir of Edin-

[1] Murray, *God of the Witches*, p. 133. [2] Quicherat, *Procès*.

burgh, a man who had lived a life of outwardly rigid respectability and strictest piety. 'Many resorted to his house to hear him pray and join with him; but it was observed that he could not officiate in any holy duty without the black staff or rod in his hand, and leaning upon it, which made those who heard him pray admire his flood in prayer, his ready extemporary expression, his heavenly gesture; so that he was thought more angel than man, and was termed by some of the holy sisters ordinarily *Angelical Thomas*.'[1] Yet this man made an entirely unsolicited confession, accusing himself of every possible and impossible crime, including witchcraft and devil-worship. His confession is irresistibly reminiscent of the confession of Gilles de Rais in 1440, who in similar circumstances reeled off such a catalogue of crimes that Pierre de l'Hôpital—the only layman on the bench of judges who conducted Gilles's trial—was utterly dumbfounded, and remonstrated with him, 'I am greatly astonished at what you have told me with which I am not satisfied, and therefore I wish and desire to know the real truth from you.' To which Gilles replied, 'Truly there was no other cause, aim, or intention than what I have told you, and I have told you enough to have put to death ten thousand men.'[2] The bogus confessions of Gilles and of Major Weir had the desired effect; both men were condemned to the same kind of death, by asphyxiation and the body to be burnt. Gilles was hanged, but his body was snatched from the flames by his relatives and decently buried. Weir was strangled and his body burnt together with his magic staff which had been imprisoned with him.[3] Weir refused to the last to listen to any Christian divine, and died saying that he was going to the Devil, not to Christ. In the case of Gilles I have already pointed out that he died as the substitute for his king,[4] and this appears

[1] Wilson, *Memorials*, p. 336. [2] Hernandez, *Procès*.

[3] The black staff was said to have a life of its own. 'It was no uncommon thing for the neighbours to see it step in and tap at their counter on some errand of its master; or running before him as he went out on nocturnal business . . . whatever incantation was in it, the persons present aver yt gave rare turnings, and was long a burning, as also himself.' Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh*, pp. 336, 337. The demonic qualities of the staff appear to have been unnoticed while its master was regarded as a Christian.

[4] Murray, *God of the Witches*, pp. 191 seq.

to be the explanation of Weir's death also. Weir's execution took place in 1670, which was twenty-one years after the death of Charles I, and therefore to every Royalist Charles II's reign had lasted that length of time. The fact that the reign had lasted a multiple of seven years, when coupled with the bogus confession which made the death sentence a certainty, is strongly suggestive that Major Weir was the substitute for his divine and royal master, and that his self-denunciation was made after receiving notice that his time had come.

The dismemberment of the body of the Divine Victim and the distribution of the fragments to different parts of the kingdom was a common practice in England in pagan times. There is evidence for it among the Saxons, for when Oswald, king of Northumbria, was killed in battle his body was dismembered by the victor, but 'after one yere of his deth, Oswy his yonger brother recoueryd ye kyngdome, & buryed his heed in the churche-yarde of Lyndesar; for ye bodye was conueyed by the Pagans & deuyded in sundry peacis: but it is sayd y$^{t}$ the heed is nowe at Durham, betwene seynt Cuthbertus armes, and the other parte of the body, which was longe after foundyn, was had to the abbay of Bordeaux, by Ostrida, doughter of Oswy, & quene of Mercia, where straungenesse was made by the ruler of y$^{a}$ hous for the receyte of these relykes, tyll a myracle or dyuyne token there was shewyd: but after the sayd body & bones were broughte to Glowceter, to an hous of chanons, & one of his armes is at Petirboroughe, hoole of flesshe and fell.'[1]

The records of such dismemberments are fuller and more frequent under the Plantagenets and Tudors, when the practice appears to have been part of the burial rites of those kings. There was, however, a custom under the Normans and to a certain extent among the Plantagenets, of leaving the corpse of the king naked and unattended immediately after death. Whether this was in any way connected with the rite of stripping the king at his sacring is uncertain. It may have symbolized that as he, naked and alone, received the spirit of God, so he, naked and alone, resigned that spirit. The funeral ceremonies, which took place after that com-

[1] Fabyan, i, p. 118.

plete desertion, were performed with the utmost pomp.

The dismemberment of the royal body is recorded as a preliminary to a primitive form of embalming when Henry I died. The whole of the internal organs were removed, the head was cut off in order to extract the brain, and the eyes were also taken out; all these parts were buried at St. Marie des Prées near Rouen. The head was then sewn on the neck, the corpse was slashed with knives and 'copiously sprinkled' with salt, then wrapped in ox-hides and taken to Caen. While waiting there for a fair wind to cross to England, the moist sea air caused the salt to liquefy with very unpleasant results. Finally the body was brought over and buried at Reading.[1]

Richard I's body was buried in three places, like that of Halfdan the Black (p. 28). 'This Richarde kynge of Ynglonde deede the sixte day of Averel, and his body was i-deled in thre, and i-buried in thre places, therfore oon seide in metre in this maner:

> Viscera Carleolum, corpus fons servat Ebradi,
> Et cor Rothomagum, magne Richarde tuum,
> In trio dividitur unus, quia plus fuit uno.
> Nec superest uno gratia tanta viro.

That is, thy bowels beeth at Karlil, thy body at Font Ebrard, and thyn harte at Rothomage, thou grete Richard. He is departed a thre, for he was more than oon, as grete grace is nouyte in oon man alyve.'[2]

King John died at Newark; all the internal organs except the heart were buried at Croxton,[3] the heart in a golden cup was buried at Fontevraud, and the body in Worcester cathedral.

Henry V's body was also partially dissected. 'Shortly after his departing his entrails were interred in the church of Saint-Maur-des-Fosses, and his corps well embalmed and sealed was enclosed in a circle (cercueil?) of lead.'[4]

So important was the treatment of the divine body after death that in the reign of Richard III there is a description

[1] Henry of Huntingdon, Bk viii, p. 262.
[2] Higden, *Polycronicon*, Bk. vii, ch. 32, p. 169.
[3] Ingulph Continuator, p. 316.
[4] *First English Life of King Henry the Fifth*, p. 182. Spelling modernized.

of 'what shall be don on the demyse of a King annoynted. When that a King annoynted is decessed, aft[r] his body is sp'ged, it must be washed and clensed by a bishop for his holy annoyntm[t], then the body must be bamed,[1] wrapped in laun, or reynez,[2] yf it may be gotyn, then hosyn, cherte, & a perer of shone of rede lether, & do on his surcote of cloth, his cap of estate on his hed, & then lay hym on a fair borde cou'ed with cloth of gold, his on hande on his bely & a sep'r in the toder hande, & oon his face a kerchief, & so shewed to his noblez by the space of ij dayes & more yef the weder will it suffre. And when he may not godely longer endur, take hym away and bowell hym, & then eftsones bame hym, wrappe hym in raynes wele trammeled[3] in cords of silke, then in tarseryn[4] trammelled, & than in velvet, & so in clothe well trammelled, & then led hym & coffre hym.'[5] In Tudor times the embalming was done with wax, and it appears it was part of the regular duty of a wax-chandler to perform these last rites for the dead. Thus Catherine of Aragon's wax-chandler prepared her body for burial, refusing the aid of her physician;[6] in the *Remembrance of Council* after the death of Catherine, the necessary procedure was arranged. 'First the Corps must be sered, tramayled, leded, and chested w[t] spices and other things therunto appertayning.' Among other items 'to be also remembered' at the preparations for the funeral, were these details, 'Item provision to be made for the boweling, sering, and enclosing of the corps in lede.'[7]

The importance of 'bowelling' in the obsequies of a Divine King is seen also in the sacrifice of a Substitute Victim. Part of the death of a 'traitor' was that his bowels should be cut from out of his body while, though half hanged, he was still alive. Not only was this done, but to emphasize his power of giving fertility the generative organs were also excised. The extraordinary brutality of the 'execution' was

[2] *Bame* embalm.
[1] *Raynes* fine cloth of Rennes.
[3] *Trammeled* bound, tied.
[4] *Tarseryn* rich and costly cloth from the East.
[5] *Archaeologia*, i, p. 348.
[6] Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, x, p. 51, no. 141.
[7] *Archaeologia*, xvi, pp. 23, 28.

not to make the victim suffer the last extremity of pain, but was intended to show forth his divinity. In course of time the terrible punishment was inflicted on all men convicted of major crimes, and came at last to be regarded as the last mark of infamy. As the intestines and genetalia were usually burnt, it seems that there is in this custom a remembrance of the ancient rite of burning the Divine Victim and scattering the ashes.

The theory of the Scapegoat was first superimposed upon, and later amalgamated with, the primitive theory of the necessity for keeping the Creator Spirit in strength and vigour. By the death of the Incarnate God the Life-giving Spirit was released into a younger and stronger body, and at the same time the sins of the people were washed away by his blood. Seen in this aspect when, as was so often the case, the victim was willing, the killing of the Divine Man has all the splendour of self-sacrifice, all the glory of a noble ideal.

There were four methods by which the Divine Victims—the king himself or his substitute—were put to death.

1. By bloodshed, when the blood must fall upon the ground. This was the most usual form of killing.

2. By burning, when the ashes had to be gathered and strewn on the fields. This was never the English method, but was practised in Scotland and France.

3. By some form of asphyxiation, usually hanging, after which the body was wholly or partially dismembered. This form was used for the substitute only, never for the king.

4. By poison. This is rare, but it certainly did occur occasionally in England.

A victim could be put to death by more than one of these methods. There are many examples of the man being hanged, then when almost dead being cut down and either beheaded or disembowelled, so that the blood of the still living body should fall on the ground. In all these methods, with the exception of poison, there is implicit the belief that the body of the Life-giver was still instinct with Life-giving power, and that some part of it must return to the earth to ensure the fertility of the soil. Life had been taken out of the earth, Life must be returned to it.

The importance attached to the sprinkling of the blood on

the ground is seen in those cases where the record is obviously not in accordance with fact. In the case of Rufus it is probable that the blood did drip from the corpse as it was carried from the place where he fell; but the record of Henry II is in a different category. 'The fierce and violent Richard comming to meet his Father's body, royally adorned for the buriall, according to the Majesty of his estate, the very corse (as it were abhorring and accusing him for his vnnaturall behavior) gushed forth bloud.'[1] Grafton's account of the same event is slightly different. He says that the 'Corps, as it was caryed to be buried, at Founteuerard in Fraunce, Richarde his sonne comming by the way and meeting it, & beginning for compassion to weepe, the blood burst incontinent out of the nose of the dead king at the comming of his sonne, geuing thereby as a certaine monstraccion, howe he was the Author of his death.'[2]

Henry II's body was not the only one which bled after death and embalming; Henry VI's also bled on the way to burial, so also did Henry VIII's. In the case of Henry VIII the story is exaggerated in order to emphasize the hatred of the recorder to the king by indicating that the corpse suffered the fate of Ahab. Henry died on January 28th; the body was embalmed and enclosed in a leaden coffin. On February 14th the funeral procession left London on its way to Windsor for the burial, and rested one night at the dissolved monastery of Sion. 'Then the leaden coffin being cleft by the shaking of the carriage, the pavement of the church was wetted with Henry's blood.'[3] The chronicler takes a ghoulish delight in adding that dogs came and licked the blood. Though this account is probably untrue, the story records the belief in the blood of the dead king falling on the ground.

It is the fashion in modern times to decry the accusations of poisoning, but when the evidence is examined many of these accusations will be found to be matters of fact. The number of poisonous plants in English fields, hedgerows, moors and streams, is greater than many people realize, but they are well known, and to herbalists of medieval times the

[1] Speed, book ix, ch. 6, p. 509.
[2] Grafton, i, p. 219.
[3] Harpsfield, *The Pretended Divorce* p. 203 (Camden Society).

preparation was easy. The witches, who in the villages were also the medical practitioners, were well acquainted with the properties of herbs, poisonous and non-poisonous. And it must not be forgotten that in the Middle Ages there was continual intercourse between England and Italy, and Italy was for many centuries famous for knowledge of poisons. Great lords and highly placed ecclesiastics did not disdain to carry in their train astrologers and other types of witches, and the knowledge and practice of poisons could thus pass from one country to another.

There is one kind of poison which seems to be peculiar to England and Scotland, and that is the poison obtained from a toad. It is well known that no cat or dog will touch a toad, apparently on account of its poisonous qualities. King John is said to have died of toad poison administered in a drink, but the witches of North Berwick in 1590 knew of a surer way, which was to introduce it into the bloodstream through an abrasion in the skin.[1] In 1600, Sir Walter Leveson, knight, was accused of using poison. 'Sir Walter said he could so poison a silver cup or bowl, that whosoever drank thereof would be poisoned, and showed how: viz. that he would first put a toad called Rubata into the cup, and put a silver cover upon it, and then coals upon the cover; by which means the heat of the fire would open the pores of the silver cup, and draw in the poison of the toad. Sir Walter said that he could poison salt by putting the toad Rubata in a bag amongst it, and drying it at the fire.'[2] Scientific experiments with toad poison show that it can have deadly effect when administered in sufficient doses, the symptoms are sufficiently like those described of King John and the monk to suggest very strongly that the story is true.[3]

There is a certain amount of evidence to show that in some

[1] Murray, *Witch Cult*, p. 53.

[2] Cal. St. Pap. Dom., p. 400, no. 53.

[3] For the scientific research on toad poison see E. S. Faust, *Archiv für experimentelle Pathologie und Pharmakologie* (1902), 47, p. 278. Toad poison, known as Bufotalin 'is chemically closely related to cholesterol as to the digitalis glucosides'. I am grateful to Professor E. B. Verney of Cambridge for the information and reference as to this poison. The duchess of Buckingham (mother of the favourite) was popularly credited with having killed James I with 'a plaster made of oyle of toads'. Peyton, *Divine Catastrophe*, p. 358.

cases poison was used to despatch a victim who was already ill, so as to bring the death within a sacrificial month of a sacrificial year. King John was in ill health when the lethal dose of toad poison was given to him, and it is noticeable that the abbot, who was well aware of the monk's murderous (i.e. sacrificial) intention, was not brought to justice. Another instance of the poisoning of a victim was the death of Cardinal Wolsey. He was in perfect health till November 24th, the day that Sir William Kingstone, Constable of the Tower, arrived with twenty-four guards to conduct him to London. Wolsey knew what was to happen and was at once taken ill; he said to Cavendish, 'I perceive more than ye can imagine or do know.' He travelled as far as Leicester, where 'he went incontinent to his bed . . . and there he continued, sicker and sicker',[1] until he died on 29th November 1530. The death took place in a sacrificial month in the year that Henry VIII had reigned twenty-one years, a multiple of seven. 'It was said that he took some sort of poison to avoid a more shameful death. . . . When Lord Sandys arrived at Court, he went to kiss the King's hand; and when the King heard of the Cardinal's death, he said, "I suppose he guessed that I should give him a different death." '[2] It is usual to ascribe Charles II's death to apoplexy, but the symptoms described by his own physician are more consistent with an irritant poison.[3] He was taken ill on February 2nd, the actual sacrificial day, but lingered till the sixth, apologizing for being 'such an unconscionable time in dying'. The date was 1685, which was thirty-five years (a multiple of seven) from the death of Charles I, this being the date from which all royalists counted his reign. When a victim died of poison he was not canonized, nor did his tomb become a shrine.

The cult of mystic numbers is both ancient and widespread, but why certain numbers are supposed to have special powers over the lives and fortunes of human beings is unexplained. There are four numbers which have always had magical influence attributed to them, these are three, seven, nine, and thirteen. One, five and eleven had, in ancient times at least, little or no significance, yet they also are

[1] Cavendish, i, pp. 306, 313. [2] Hume, *Chronicle*, p. 29.
[3] Jesse, *Memoirs*, iii, pp. 371 seq.

odd numbers and are not divisible by any other number. Even at the present day the number thirteen is held in fear by many people.

In the cult of the Divine King in England the important number is seven. There are, however, traces of nine having been also of significance, but this was only when French influence was peculiarly strong. The English use was always seven, when calculating the length of life of the Incarnate God. Frazer has pointed out that 'some peoples appear to have thought it unsafe to wait for even the slightest symptom of decay and have preferred to kill the king while he was still in the full vigour of life. Accordingly, they have fixed a term beyond which he might not reign, and at the close of which he must die, the term fixed upon being short enough to exclude the probability of his degenerating physically in the interval.'[1] This was the case in England, the period of time between the sacrifices of the king or his substitutes being seven years. But there is one peculiarity in England which does not necessarily occur in other countries, except perhaps in Scotland. This peculiarity is that there were two periods at which a Divine Victim was required, namely, the *Personal* Victim when the king had reached the age of seven or a multiple of seven years, and the *Regnal* Victim when the king had reigned seven or a multiple of seven years.

Another point has to be noticed in regard to the date of such sacrifices. In the cult as practised by the so-called witches in the villages, the whole drama of the sacrifice of the God can be followed, and there it is evident that the event took place only in certain months of the year, February, May, August and November. The correct sacrificial days were February 2nd and the first of the other three months, but in course of time the exact day of the month was not always observed, though the sacrifice was usually within a sacrificial month. In the village form of the cult February and August seem to have been the chief months for the sacrifice, while May and November were for fertility rites. In the royal form of the cult the records show that this rule was not strictly observed, and sacrifices took place in any of the four sacrificial months.

[1] Frazer, *Dying God* (ed. 1936), p. 46.

In tabulating the evidence it is clear that victims were comparatively rare when the king was young, i.e. till he reached the age of thirty-five. After the age of thirty-five, the king's physical strength began to fail, he was no longer as active as in his first youth. The greater number of victims occur when the monarch reached the age of forty-two, forty-nine, or fifty-six. As only four English monarchs lived until they were over sixty—Henry I (67), Edward I (68), Edward III (64), Elizabeth (69)—a victim for the sixty-third year is rare. Forty-nine and sixty-three were, however, the most important of the mystic numbers, for forty-nine, being seven times seven, was the Climacteric year; and sixty-three, being nine times seven, was the Grand Climacteric. In the same way the early years of a reign, especially if the king was a child, show few victims; the twenty-first, twenty-eighth and thirty-fifth year of a reign are increasingly marked by a Substitute Victim.

The importance of the climacteric year is sometimes clearly recorded. When, in 1596, Elizabeth fell seriously ill the greatest anxiety was felt because she had reached the Grand Climacteric year, being then sixty-three. This anxiety is expressed in a letter from William Camden, the historian, to Sir Robert Cotton: 'This sleepless indisposition of hir Majestie is now ceased, which being joyned with an inflammation from the brest upward, and hir mynde altogether averted from phisique in this hir clymactericall yeare, did more than terrifie us all.'[1] Lilly the astrologer remarks on the death of Charles I, 'He lived Forty Eight Years, and about Seventy Two Days. He died in the beginning of his Climacterical Year, fatal many times where killing Directions in the Nativity threaten.'[2]

[1] Ellis, *Orig. Lett.*, 2nd series, iii, p. 179, letter ccxliii.
[2] Lilly, *True History*, p. 1.

Chapter Two

# ROYAL AND SUBSTITUTE VICTIMS

Saxon Period[1]

*Is it not passing brave to be a King?*
Marlowe. *Tamerlane.*

## The Saxon Kings

It is evident that the custom of killing the Divine King or his substitute was practised by the heathen Saxons, and was continued after their superficial conversion to Christianity. The records are, however, so fragmentary and the dates so uncertain that it is not possible to ascertain whether such ritual murders were executed at prescribed intervals.

The Chronicles, being the work of Christian monks, are always biased, and as little as possible is recorded of pagan beliefs and customs. Yet many facts are chronicled which show that the underlying Paganism was stronger than the veneer of Christianity. The apparently wanton murders and inexplicable deaths are so often mentioned, especially as taking place in one of the sacrificial months, that it is obvious some more potent force than mere brutality was at work. The victim usually is said to die by bloodshed, but occasionally a sudden death, ascribed by the Christian chronicler to the wrath of God, may well have been by a virulent poison.

Owing partly to the want of accurate dating, and also to the confusion caused by the continual changes of the dependence or independence of a kingdom, it is not always possible to differentiate between the Royal Victim and a substitute, and in this section I have not attempted to do so.

The importance of an astrologer or prophet at the royal

[1] The dates in this chapter are taken from Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

court is emphasized by the chroniclers only when that personage was a Christian ecclesiastic, who was of course inspired by God. Dunstan and Guthlac were credited with many prophecies. But whether the prophets were pagan or Christian, the prediction was usually as to the length of the king's reign or life; this probably meant, in pagan times at least, that the length of reign and life were settled when the king came to the throne.

Another connection with the Old Religion is shown in the record of the coven-formation round the doomed victim. Oswald and his twelve thanes, Eanfrid and his twelve soldiers, Mul and his twelve companions, suggest very strongly the pre-Christian practice.

Occasionally the personal appearance of the victim is given; he is always remarkable for personal beauty when young or for great strength when in middle life. In other words he had to be in the full flush and prime of manhood. Oswin of Deira was 'graceful of aspect, tall of stature, affable in discourse and courteous in behaviour'.[1] Aethelbald of Mercia was 'remarkable for the gracefulness of his figure, his strength of body, and his indomitable courage'.[2] Mul, brother of Ceadwall of Wessex, 'was a man of courteous and pleasing manners, of prodigious strength, and of noble aspect'.[3] Edmund of East Anglia is said to have been of 'incomparable bodily size and stature'.[4]

Though all the Saxon kingdoms show that the Old Religion was still a living force, the records of Northumbria are the most detailed.

The evidence from Northumbria shows that certain kings bore names which suggest that these royal personages were regarded as divine. The Saxon word, transliterated in these names as Os, means 'God' or 'divine'. There were in all twelve kings of Northumbria and one princess (afterwards queen of Mercia) who bore this fatal form of name, and of these only two died a natural death.[5] The meaning of the

[1] Bede, book iii, ch. 14, p. 132.
[2] Ingulph (Bohn's ed.), p. 3.
[3] Henry of Huntingdon, book iv, p. 115.
[4] Roger of Wendover, i, p. 195.
[5] See Appendix 1c, p. 218, for these kings and their fates.

names indicates that the bearers were, as descendants of the God Odin, themselves divine.

| | |
|---|---|
| Osbald | Bold god |
| Osbert | Bright god |
| Osfrith | Divine peace |
| Osred | Divine counsel |
| Osric | Divine king |
| Ostrith | Divine strength |
| Oswald | Mighty god |
| Oswin | Divine friend |
| Oswulf | Divine wolf |
| Oswy | Divine war |

No other name appears to have had the same significance, nor were the ritual deaths so confined to other names.

In 634 Eanfrith of Bernicia and Osric I of Deira, though baptized, had reverted to paganism. This may account for their subsequent fate; for after the defeat of Northumbria by the pagan kings Cadwallo and Penda, Eanfrith went with twelve soldiers to Cadwallo, ostensibly to sue for peace. He and his escort were slain by Cadwallo. Later on Osric was killed in battle against the two pagan kings. The Christian chroniclers say that Cadwallo 'slew them both through the rightful vengeance of heaven',[1] and that 'they were justly though treacherously slain'.[2] This shows that their deaths were not really regarded as murder even by the Christians.

Oswald was the king whom the early chroniclers delighted to honour. At the age of twenty-eight he succeeded Eanfrith; his reign lasted actually eight years, but he is credited with nine, for the year that Eanfrith and Osric reigned is added to his, 'for it is agreed by the unanimous consent of all, that the names of the apostates should be erased from the catalogue of the Christian kings, and no date ascribed to their reign'.[3] Like Eanfrith he had twelve followers, 'who had shared his evils and followed him to baptism'.[4] He met his death on 5th August 642, fighting against Cadwallo, king of the Britons, whose vassal king, Penda of Mercia, was the

[1] Bede, book iii, ch. 1, p. 109.
[2] Henry of Huntingdon, book iii, p. 96.
[3] Bede, book iii, ch. 9, p. 123.
[4] Adamnan (ed. W. Huyshe), p. 12.

actual slayer. 'Penda broke in upon him and killed him.'[1] The reason for the extreme sanctity in which Oswald is held is obscure. There is practically nothing to distinguish him from his pagan contemporaries, whom he resembled in his virtues and his love of fighting. The only explanation which appears to cover the facts is that he was to his people the Divine Victim. The recorded facts which suggest this conclusion have not received the attention they deserve. Cadwallo, the British king, had in 642 reigned fourteen years; Oswald's death took place during one of the sacrificial months; he died by the hands of an ardent follower of the Old Religion, who 'was not baptised, and never believed in God', and who won the victory 'by diabolic agency'.[2] The very spot on which the victim's blood fell not only bore peculiarly luxuriant grass but possessed healing, i.e. life-giving, power. The body was dismembered; 'the king that slew him commanded his head, hands, and arms to be cut off from the body, and set upon stakes. But his successor Oswy took them down, and buried his head in the church of Lindisfarne, and the hands and arms in the royal city.'[3] The hands are mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 'his hands are at Bambrough, uncorrupted',[4] incorruption being throughout the ages a sure sign of special sanctity.

Oswy, the brother and successor of Oswald, had a career which shows points of interest. To the modern mind he was more deserving of canonization than Oswald, and it is evident that the chroniclers found it not very easy to explain why such an ardent Christian should not have been raised to that high rank. This neglect is generally ascribed to the fact that his sub-king Oswin, a most saintly person, was murdered in cold blood by his orders. The whole of this episode shows that Oswy, though ostensibly a devout Christian, was also addicted to the beliefs and ritual of the Old Religion, as evidenced by the sacrifice of the Divine King in the person of Oswin. According to the official Christian account, Oswy and Oswin became so much at variance that a battle was

[1] Geoffrey of Monmouth, book xii, ch. 10.
[2] Nennius, § 65.
[3] Bede, book iii, ch. 12, p. 129.
[4] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 319.

imminent. When, however, Oswin found that his forces were greatly inferior to those of Oswy, he decided not to risk an engagement. He therefore dismissed his army, and 'with one trusty soldier, whose name was Tondhere, withdrew and lay concealed in the house of Earl Hunwold, whom he imagined to be his assured friend. But, alas! it was otherwise; for the earl betrayed him, and Oswy, in a detestable manner, by the hands of his commander, Ethelwin, slew him and the soldier aforesaid. This happened on the 20th of August.'[1] Another account says nothing of the betrayal, but states that Oswy sent his general Aethelwin to slay the king; 'on hearing of his approach, Oswin straightway went forth to meet the swords of the wicked; and the executioners, rushing on him, in a detestable manner, put to death both himself and his soldier. Thus Oswin followed the example of the Saviour'.[2] Another author calls Oswin 'the glorious martyr of God', and also compares him to Christ.[3] He was canonized, and Oswy built a monastery on the site of the murder. The circumstances of Oswin's death point clearly to a sacrifice of the Divine King. His death was predicted by bishop Aidan, i.e. by a successor of a heathen flamen; he was killed in a sacrificial month; and according to the dates given in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* he had reigned seven years. There are also two incidents in the records which suggest very strongly the idea of sacrifice; the first is the unresisting acceptance of his fate; the other is the comparison of the king with the God in whose sacrifice the Christian recorders so firmly believed. These two incidents were repeated more than five centuries later in the murder of Becket.

Ecgfrith, the son of Oswy, reigned fourteen years and was killed in battle on 20th May 685. It can hardly be a mere coincidence that his death should take place in a sacrificial month after a reign of fourteen years, a multiple of seven. There is also a miraculous event recorded in connection with his death; St. Cuthbert knew 'by heavenly influence' the moment that Ecgfrith was slain.[4] Ecgfrith was succeeded by

[1] Bede, book iii, ch. 14, p. 132.
[2] Roger of Wendover, i, p. 89.
[3] Matthew of Westminster, i, p. 304.
[4] William of Malmesbury, book i, ch. 3, p. 52.

Ia. Silver pennies of William Rufus (enlarged)

Ib. Thomas à Becket: mural painting, 12th century, Hauxton Church, Cambs.

II. King John in coronation robes: effigy in Worcester Cathedral, from C. A. Stothard, *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*

his son Osred; he 'was slain on the southern border; he had the kingdom seven years'.[1] He was certainly murdered, for William of Malmesbury states that 'he was ultimately taken off by the hostility of his relations'.[2] The relations were the two men who succeeded him, Coenred and Osric II, of whom William of Malmesbury makes the suggestive remark, they 'expiated by a violent death the blood of their master, *whom they supposed they had rightfully slain*'.[3] And it is again worth noting that Osric died on May 9th, after a reign of fourteen years.[4]

The early records of Mercia show that the custom of ritual murder was practised there, though the dates are not sufficiently accurate or detailed to ascertain the exact number of years of a king's life or reign; therefore it is not possible to prove that when a king was killed he died as a victim for his own people or as a substitute for some other king.

That sturdy old pagan, Penda the Strong, king of Mercia (626–55), was notorious for the number of kings he had killed. The chroniclers quote a verse written on his death:

> 'At the Winweg was avenged the slaughter of Anna,
> The slaughter of the kings Sigbert and Egric,
> The slaughter of the kings Oswald and Edwin.'[5]

Though these five kings may have fallen in battle, there are indications they did not necessarily die as warriors. Edwin of Northumbria (12th October 633) was beheaded, his head was buried in the great church which he had begun to build, his body was buried at Whitby. Bede speaks of his death as 'the wicked assassination of the King'.[6] He was canonized, but his saint's day was October 4th, not the day he was said to have been killed. It may be noted that Edwin himself had in his own time killed five kings. In 636 Egric and Sigbert fell in battle; there is nothing peculiar recorded about Egric's death, but Sigbert went unarmed into the fight

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 333.
[2] William of Malmesbury, book i, ch. 3, p. 53.
[3] Ibid. The italics are mine.
[4] Henry of Huntingdon, p. 123.
[5] Ibid., book ii, p. 59.
[6] Bede, book ii, ch. 14, p. 97.

with the obvious purpose of being killed.[1] In 642 Oswald of Northumbria was killed by Penda himself (see p. 46). Anna of East Anglia was killed in 655, ostensibly in battle, but Nennius says that Penda 'slew him by treachery'.[2] Penda was also accused of killing Eadfrid, son of Edwin, and of murdering Earpwald of East Anglia either by his own hand[3] or 'by one Richbert, a pagan'.[4] Penda himself was killed in battle at the age of eighty, and Henry of Huntingdon makes a strange remark. 'The earth was watered with his blood, and the ground sprinkled with his brains.'[5] This may be simply the joy at the death of a pagan, or it may refer to the idea of the fertilizing power of the blood of a king when falling on the earth.

The reign of Athelred (675–704), shows a few curious facts, which suggest that the Substitute Victim was known, and that the term of years for a king was a multiple of seven. He married Ostrith a daughter of Oswy of Northumbria. In 697, when he had reigned apparently for twenty-one years, she was 'barbarously murdered' by the nobles of the kingdom.[6] In 704, which was his twenty-ninth year, he abdicated and 'took the cowl';[7] he died in 716, forty-two years after his accession.

Coelred, the son of Athelred and Ostrith, died after a reign of seven years. An account of his death has been preserved: 'Coelred, the debaucher of nuns, was seized, while splendidly regaling with his nobles, by a malignant spirit, who snatched away his soul without confession and without communion, while in converse with the devil.'[8] In this connection it should be remembered that Merlin was said to be the offspring of the devil and a nun; that in later times the so-called Devil was the God Incarnate of the Witch religion; that it was the duty, and usually the desire, of his worshippers to die for him or at his bidding; and that it was com-

[1] Henry of Huntingdon, book iii, p. 102.
[2] Nennius, p. 415.
[3] Henry of Huntingdon, book ii, p. 58.
[4] Bede, book ii, p. 90.
[5] Henry of Huntingdon, book iii, p. 103.
[6] Ibid., book iv, p. 117.
[7] William of Malmesbury, book i, ch. 4, p. 72.
[8] Ibid., book i, ch. 4, p. 75.

monly said that such a person was 'snatched away' by the Devil. Who Coelred's murderer was is not mentioned, but it is worth noting that his successor, Aethelbald, after a reign of forty-one years 'was miserably murdered in the night by his own guards'.[1]

It was during the reign of Coenwulf (796–821) that a ritual murder took place. His young son Kenelm, aged seven, was murdered under a thorn tree by his sister, Quendrida, by cutting off his head. The child was canonized and so also was Coenwulf himself.[2]

The fate of two kings of East Anglia show that the custom was in force in that country. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Offa of Mercia 'commanded the head of King Ethelbert to be struck off'. This was in 792 which was the thirty-fifth year of Offa's reign. Ethelbert was canonized, Henry of Huntingdon speaks of him as St. Ethelbert, and Florence of Worcester calls him 'king and martyr', and 'most glorious and holy king'. Seventy-seven years later Edmund, king of East Anglia, was put to death on 20th November 870. Matthew of Westminster compares him with Christ, and says 'it was needful that he alone should die for his people'.[3] Seven is a marked number in the career of St. Edmund; he began to reign 'on the birthday of the Lord in the 14th year of his age', he reigned from 856 to 870, which was fourteen years, so that he was twenty-eight at his death. Seven years later the murderers 'were slain in battle by king Alfred, and there the blood of the blessed king and martyr Edmund, which had been shed by the aforesaid ministers of wickedness, was avenged by the soldiers of the Christian king, Alfred'.[4] That the murder was a pagan sacrifice is strongly suggested by the final rite. When the body was moved to its final resting place, 'they translated the holy martyr with festivity and dancing'.[5]

The early records of Wessex are less satisfactory as regards dates than those of the other kingdoms; it is only when

[1] Bede, p. 300.
[2] Roger of Wendover, i, p. 173.
[3] Matthew of Westminster, ii, pp. 416, 417.
[4] Roger of Wendover, i, p. 210.
[5] Ibid., i, p. 200.

Wessex became the paramount power and Edgar united all England under his rule that the dates become of value. Caedwalla (born 659, succ. 685, died 688) was a pagan until he was thirty, and it was during this period that two events occurred which suggest ritual murders. In 686 Caedwalla, being then twenty-seven, conquered the Isle of Wight. The two young brothers of the king of the island fled to the mainland, but were betrayed and ordered to be killed. A local abbot, named Cynebert, begged of the king Caedwalla 'that if the lads must inevitably be killed, he might be allowed first to instruct them in the mysteries of the faith. The king consented, and the bishop having taught them the word of God, and cleansed their souls by baptism, made the entrance into the kingdom of heaven sure to them. Then the executioner being at hand, they joyfully underwent the temporal death, through which they did not doubt they were to pass to the life of the soul, which is everlasting.'[1] It is worth while to compare this with the speech which Gilles de Rais, about to suffer as a Substitute Victim, encouraged his fellows on the way to the scaffold. In 687, when Caedwalla was twenty-eight, his brother Mul (Mule=half-breed) made a plundering incursion into Kent. With twelve followers he entered a house, and was surrounded by the enemy, who set the house on fire, 'and Mul with every one of his twelve followers perished in the flames'.[2] The band of twelve with a leader is very suggestive of the pagan religion.

The reigns of the kings of all England show the number seven clearly. Alfred was born in 849, succeeded in 871, and died in 899, having reigned twenty-eight years. In the seventh year of his reign (878) Guthrum was defeated and baptized; in the fourteenth year (885) Alfred had his great naval victory over the Danes; Guthrum died, according to Florence of Worcester, in 891, which was the year that Alfred reached the age of forty-two.[3] Athelstan reigned fourteen years; in the seventh year of his reign Edwin the aetheling was drowned in the sea; by Athelstan's order, it was

[1] Roger of Wendover, i, p. 114.
[2] Henry of Huntingdon, book iv, p. 115.
[3] Florence of Worcester, p. 79.

said.[1] Athelstan narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of Anlaf, who slew Werstan, bishop of Sherborne, by mistake. This same Anlaf died on 12th February 942, when Athelstan's successor Edmund was twenty-one.[2] Edmund was assassinated by Leofric at Pucklechurch on 26th May 946, having reigned only six and a half years, St. Dunstan foresaw his death, having beheld the devil dancing. He hurried to the court but was too late to prevent the murder.[3]

Edward the Martyr (973–78) had a short and troubled reign, ending with his tragic death. 'St. Edward the king, after reigning five years, was treasonably slain by his own family at Corfe-gate, at even-tide; and carrying to the grave their malice towards him in life, he was buried at Wareham without royal honours. . . . It is reported that his stepmother, that is the mother of king Ethelred, stabbed him with a dagger whilst she was in the act of offering him a cup to drink.'[4] Roger of Hoveden states that Edward was murdered 'at the command' of his stepmother. The reason always assigned for the murder is the desire of the queen to put her own son on the throne; which she could not have done unless she had a large following among the most powerful nobles. Yet there is no trace of such a following, nor does there seem to have been any discontent against the king in the kingdom. Still more remarkable is the fact that there was no protest from the two archbishops or any of the bishops. Dunstan, at least, was never wanting in courage, and his failure to remonstrate suggests that he consented to the deed. In spite of Henry of Huntingdon's statement, the funeral ceremonies were performed by Dunstan assisted by Aelfhearn, ealdorman of Mercia. The explanation of the murder may lie in the events of the reign. First, there was the appearance of a comet which was then regarded as a certain presage of disaster. This was followed by a great and terrible famine and a murrain among cattle. The final 'sign of the Most High' of his anger was the accident that occurred when, at a meeting of all the great men of the nation, the floor of the room gave

[1] William of Malmesbury, book ii, ch. 6, p. 140.
[2] Matthew of Westminster, i, p. 458.
[3] William of Malmesbury, book ii, ch. 7, p. 143.
[4] Henry of Huntingdon, book v, p. 177.

way, many were killed and many badly injured. Such continual disasters may have called for the sacrifice of a Royal Victim to appease the wrath of God.[1] Edward was canonized, and his saintship was attested in the usual manner by the incorruption of the body and by miracles at the tomb.

Within a year of his half-brother's death Ethelred, though only ten years old, was 'with much joy of the English witan, consecrated king of England . . . by the holy archbishops Dunstan and Oswald, and ten bishops. . . . He held his kingdom with great toil and great difficulties the while that his life lasted.'[2] Mere fighting and plundering did not seem so essentially a judgment of the Lord as to call for special atonement of blood to be made, and in this long reign there are no exact records of deaths which can be construed as ritual murders, though there are some suggestive deaths. The year 987 was memorable by reason of an outbreak of what appears to have been cholera, which raged throughout the country. It is perhaps worth noting that Dunstan, for so many years the power behind the throne, died in the following year in the sacrificial month of May. The murder of archbishop Elfege suggests a ritual victim, for he attained canonization, there were miracles at his tomb, and the recorders mention emphatically that 'his sacred blood sprinkled the earth'.[3] The sudden death of Sweyn due to the miraculous wrath of St. Edmund took place on 3rd February 1014. Here the combination of a miracle and a sacrificial month suggest a ritual murder, and Henry of Huntingdon, in his system of counting the years from the beginning of a new millenium, calls this the fourteenth year.

The account of the death of Edmund Ironside, as given by Henry of Huntingdon, may be actual, traditional, or purely legendary, but at least Edmund conforms to the pattern of the ritual Royal Victim, for he died by the shedding of blood in a sacrificial month (November 30th).[4]

In 1044 'King Edward (the Confessor) under obligation for his kingdom to the powerful earl Godwin, married God-

[1] Cf. the killing of the sons of Saul by David to ensure a good harvest after a famine. 2 Sam. xxi, 1–9.

[2] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. 387, 407.

[3] Henry of Huntingdon, book vi, p 190 [4] Ibid., book vi, p. 196.

win's daughter Edgitha',[1] and thus became allied with that formidable family. Godwin himself, as a friend and close associate of Canute, could have been only a recent convert to Christianity, and seems to have been at heart as stout a pagan as Penda of Mercia. His career follows the pattern of the Substitute Victim, who had riches and honours, was accused of treachery, and either died suddenly or was executed. 'He had been erewhile to that degree exalted, as if he ruled the king and all England.'[2] In 1053, the year in which Edward was forty-nine, Godwin died suddenly, or was at least seized with a fatal illness, when seated at table with the king. 'Then on the second day of Easter, sat he with the king at the Feast; then suddenly sank he down by the footstool, deprived of speech, and of all his power, and he was carried into the king's chamber, and they thought it would pass over; but it did not do so; but he continued on, thus speechless and powerless, until the Thursday, and then resigned his life.'[3] Henry of Huntingdon always prefers a dramatic story: 'The king was at Winchester and was sitting at table, with his father-in-law, Godwin, who had conspired against him, by his side; the Earl said to him, "Sir king, I have been often accused of harbouring traitorous designs against you, but as God in heaven is just and true, may this morsel of bread choke me, if even in thought I have ever been false to you." But God, who is just and true, heard the words of the traitor, for the bread stuck in his throat and choked him, so that death presently followed, the foretaste of the death which is eternal.'[4] Roger of Wendover states that the king ordered the body of Godwin to be buried at cross-roads, 'for he is unworthy of Christian burial'.[5] In 1063, which was the twenty-first year of Edward's reign, the Welsh in order to make peace slew their king Griffin, who was king over all the Welsh race. He was beheaded and his head sent to Harold to be forwarded to king Edward.[6] As Griffin was killed on August 5th, he may have been regarded as a Substitute Victim, sacrificed for a greater king than himself when that king had reigned a multiple of seven years.

[1] Ibid., book vi, p. 202.
[2] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 429.
[3] Ibid., p. 431.
[4] Henry of Huntingdon, book vi, p. 204.
[5] Roger of Wendover, i, p. 312.
[6] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 437.

Chapter Three

# THE ROYAL VICTIM

*To behold and consider the Majesty of Kings, which flows down from heaven; and their very persons do represent God.*

R. Burney, *Kerdiston Doron*, p. 24

The career and death of William Rufus show him as the Divine King and Victim. The beginning of his reign is notable from the fact that he owed his crown, not merely to the dying wish of his father but to the express choice of the people. And it is equally remarkable that in spite of his being a foreigner and a conqueror, the English stood by him in all his troubles with Norman nobles, Scottish invaders, and clamorous Churchmen. The events of his reign show two facts, (*a*) that underlying the alleged Christianity of England the Old Religion still held the people; and (*b*) that Rufus himself belonged to that old Paganism, and whether baptized or not, was no Christian. If my view of him is correct, he would know that the choice of the people fell on him as their Divine Victim and Sacrifice as well as their king, and that sooner or later he might be called upon to suffer death for their sakes.

As a pagan recorded by Christian chroniclers his character has suffered greatly. Yet when his reign is studied it is clear that he was a dutiful son, a faithful friend, generous even to an enemy, and was never known to break his promise. As a ruler he was feared by evil doers and law-breakers, and there are indications, even in the monkish chronicles, that he was beloved and respected by his people. 'Rufus was imperious, daring and warlike, and gloried in the pomp of his numerous troops. The king's memory was very tenacious, and his zeal

for good or evil was ardent. Robbers and thieves felt the terrible weight of his power, and his efforts to keep the peace throughout his dominion were unceasing. He so managed his subjects, either by making them partakers of his bounty or curbing them by the terror of his arms, that no one dared to whisper a word in opposition to his will.'[1] In short, Rufus had all the qualities which the English admire, especially that cold and splendid courage which takes risks as a matter of course and accepts death without complaint.

The relations between Rufus and Anselm cannot be explained only from the point of view of the Church. The position of the archbishop of Canterbury has always been a peculiar one; even at the present day he ranks immediately after the princes of the Blood Royal and is thus the chief of the non-royal subjects of the king. Next in importance to the archbishop of Canterbury in the Church of England is the archbishop of York. Anselm's position and his quarrel with the king must be compared and considered in connection with the similar conditions between Henry II and Thomas à Becket, and those between Henry VIII and Wolsey. In 1094, when Rufus had reigned seven years, Anselm was accused of high treason and arraigned before the king.[2] But Anselm was not a willing victim, and fled out of the kingdom, taking refuge where he was beyond the power of Rufus. In this matter he was more fortunate than either Becket or Wolsey, for being a foreigner he had no near relations or dear friends in England to suffer the king's wrath. Becket also made his escape beyond the king's power, but Henry II's indignation fell upon Becket's relatives, and the archbishop had to return to save his nearest and dearest. Wolsey had no opportunity to leave the country, he dared not take the risk of being captured and brought back ignominiously. It would seem that Anselm was the destined substitute for Rufus, but escaped the fate determined for him, returning only when he felt secure. The reason given for Anselm's defection was that 'in this nation little was done according to right, or after his desires'.[3]

[1] Ordericus Vitalis, ii, p. 470.
[2] Roger of Wendover, i, p. 367.
[3] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 474.

The account of Rufus's last hours shows what manner of man he was. He could not sleep on that last night, so called for lights and spent the dark hours talking with his attendants. In the morning he attended to business. Though there is no indication of the kind of business the result shows that he was making arrangements for his successor, and how well he did this is seen by the fact that Henry I came to the throne without opposition, without bloodshed, and without loss of time; there was no confusion, no hitch, such as might have been expected after the sudden death of the reigning monarch. Rufus drank more than usual at his last meal, and then made ready for the fatal hunting expedition. While his boots were being laced a smith came to him bringing six new arrows for use with the cross-bow. Rufus seized them joyfully and gave two to Walter Tyrrel who was standing near, saying, 'It is right that the sharpest arrows should be given to him who knows how to deal deadly strokes with them.' A significant remark, equally significant was another addressed to Tyrrel, 'Walter, do thou justice according to those things which thou hast heard.' To which Tyrrel replied grimly, 'So I will, my lord.'[1] The hunt continued till late in the afternoon, 'the sun was now sinking, when the king, drawing his bow and letting fly an arrow, slightly wounded a stag; and keenly gazing followed it, still running, a long time with his eyes, holding up his hand to keep off the power of the sun's rays.'[2] According to Knighton, Rufus was shooting at a stag when his bowstring broke; he called to Tyrrel to shoot but Tyrrel hesitated; then Rufus cried out to him, 'Draw, draw your bow for the Devil's sake, and let your arrow fly, or it will be the worse for you.' (*Trahe, trahe arcum ex parte diaboli & extende sagittam, alias te poenitebit.*)[3] Tyrrel obeyed and his arrow pierced the king's breast; 'on receiving the wound the king uttered not a word; but breaking off the shaft of the weapon where it projected from his body, fell upon the wound, by which he accelerated his death'.[4]

Though Knighton says that Rufus cried 'for the Devil's

[1] See amongst others, Ordericus Vitalis, iii, p. 263.
[2] William of Malmesbury, p. 345.
[3] Twysden, *Hist. Angl. Script.*, Knighton, col. 1337.
[4] William of Malmesbury, p. 345.

sake', it is important to remember that to a Christian recorder a pagan god could only be the Devil, it is therefore probable that in his last words Rufus called on the name of the God whom he worshipped. Malmesbury's account shows that Rufus deliberately ended his own life. He was there to die, and with a cold and splendid courage he fulfilled his part as the Divine King.

The accounts clearly indicate that the whole affair was premeditated and arranged. Rufus had made all the arrangements necessary to ensure a peaceful succession to the throne immediately on his death; his joy at receiving new and sharp arrows and his instructions to Tyrrel indicate that both men knew what was about to happen; the missing of the stag appears to have been the signal for the fatal shot, and when Tyrrel hesitated Rufus adjured him in the name of his pagan god (called, of course, by the Christian recorder, 'the Devil') to shoot; then as the arrow had not inflicted a mortal wounp, Rufus deliberately ended his life.

The monkish chroniclers delight in vilifying Rufus, and show a spiteful pleasure in describing the miserable funeral without the splendour expected at the obsequies of a king. Ordericus Vitalis, however, records that the poor, the widows, and the beggars, went out to meet the cortège and followed the dead king to his grave with tears and lamentations.[1] The Norman poets give an entirely different account of the funeral, which they describe as magnificent, with all the royal pomp that was due to a monarch. But monks and poets alike make a great point of the blood dripping from the corpse on the ground. It seems certain that the death was expected, for the news was known not only in Devonshire but in Normandy within twenty-four hours. Anselm and the abbot of Cluny claimed that the news was brought by angelic messengers, whereas in England it was the Devil who was the news bringer. But it must have been by some system of preconcerted signals, such as is common among primitive peoples.

The date of Rufus's birth is uncertain; it was between 1056 and 1060. If the date is taken in the middle of that period, the latter part of 1057 or the early part of 1058,

[1] Ord. Vit., iii, p. 265.

Rufus would have been forty-two at his death. The day that he was killed was August 2nd, a sacrificial month.[1] Like many other Divine Scapegoats he was mercilessly slandered so as to minimize the guilt of the murderers. The murderer, or executioner, Walter Tyrrel, received no kind of punishment or retribution, human or divine, but appears to have led an ordinary life and to have died peacefully, having the same fate as the executioners of Thomas à Becket.[2] This was very different from the fate of the slayer of Richard I, who though forgiven by the dying king, was flayed alive for daring to commit the unspeakable crime of killing the Lord's Anointed at the wrong time.

As Rufus was so clearly a pagan he could not receive any kind of recognition from the Christian Church by which he could be remembered, but there was a popular tradition, which survived until the end of the last century, that the little stream which passes by the spot where the king fell, always ran red on the anniversary of his death. This tradition brings William Rufus into connection with the traditional reddening of the Syrian river by the blood of Adonis, and the Nile annually turning to blood from the veins of the great god Setekh.

The career of King John suggests that, like Rufus, he was not actually a Christian; or perhaps it would be more correct to say that a very thin veneer of Christianity covered another form of religion. This would account for the virulence of the priestly recorders, who vilified him and his actions on every possible occasion. Yet when the documentary evidence of his reign is studied he is found to be not so cruel as his contemporaries, he had more thought for the sick and poor than any other of the Plantagenet kings; and he is, as far as I know, the only one of whom a folk-tale was told showing that he could enjoy a joke even at his own expense.

The dates of certain deaths which occurred during his lifetime point to his being himself selected as the victim in the

[1] 'King William reigned fourteen years all but twenty-eight days.' Roger of Hoveden, i, p. 191.

[2] 'Walter tirel scapede, and no man pursewed, and so the kyng was i-leide on an horsbere and i-lad to Wynchestre, and his blood dropped down in the way as he was i-ladde.' Higden, Trevisa's translation, lib. vii.

end. It is at least a remarkable fact that his father, Henry II, died when John was twenty-one, a multiple of seven; though it is possible that this may be only a coincidence as Henry II died, perhaps as a Royal Victim, at the age of fifty-six, also a multiple of seven. At John's birth, with three brothers older than himself, his chances of succession were slender indeed; but the deaths of his brothers, Henry and Geoffrey, and then of his father, left only one life, that of Richard I, between John and the throne. Richard's reckless courage and his thirst for military glory made even that one life precarious.

The circumstances of John's death are interesting in view of the fact that his age was forty-nine, one of the climacteric years, being seven times seven. His contemporaries believed that he was poisoned, though modern writers ascribe his death to dysentery. But the use of poison was common at that time, and the priests of both religions, the old Paganism and the new Christianity, were not averse to using such means if they thought it necessary.

The account of the king's death is too circumstantial to be passed over as traditional or exaggerated, especially as modern scientific experiments on the poison of toads prove that the venom can have a lethal effect.

*The Kyng came by the Abbey of Swynesheade, and there hee abode two dayes. And as he sate at mete, he axed a Monke of the house,* How moche that loof was worth that was sette before hym uppon the table? *And the Monke said,* That the loof was worth but an half-penny. *O said the Kinge tho,* Here is grete chepe of brede; *Now sayd he tho,* and I may lyve ony while, such a loof will be worth xx. shillinges or half a year be gone. *And so whan hee sayd this worde, moche hee thought, and often hee sighed, and toke and ete of the brede, and sayd,* By God, the worde that I have spoken, it shall be soth. *The Monke that stode before the Kynge was for this worde full sory in his herte, and thought rather hee would hymselfe suffre deth, and thought yf he might ordeyne therefore some manere remedye.* And anone the Monke wente unto his Abbot and was shriven of him, and tolde the Abbot all that the Kynge had sayd: And prayed his Abbot for to assoyle him, for he would yeve the Kynge such a drynke, that all Englonde sholde be glad thereof and

joyfull. *Tho yede the Monke into a gardeyne*, and founde a grete Tode therein, and toke her up and put her in a Cuppe, and prycked the Tode thorugh with a broche many tymes, tyll the venym came out of every syde in the Cuppe. *And tho toke the Cuppe and filled it with good ale, and brought it before the Kynge, knelynge sayenge*, Sir, *sayd hee*, Wassayll, for never the dayes of all your lyfe dronke ye of so good a Cuppe. Begyn Monke, sayd the Kinge: *And the Monke dranke a grete draught* and toke the Kynge the Cuppe, and the Kynge dranke also a grete draught, and set downe the Cuppe. *The Monke anone ryght went in to a farmerye and there dyed anone*, on whoos soul God have mercy. *Amen*. And fyve Monkes synge for his soul specially, and shall whyle that the Abbaye standeth. *The Kynge rose up anone full evyll at ease, and commaunded to remove the table, and axed after the Monke, and men tolde him that hee was deed*, for his wombe was broken in sundre. *When the Kynge herde this, he commaunded for to trusse, but it was for nought*, for his belly began to swelle for the drynke he had dronke, and within two days hee deyed, *on the morrow after saynt* lukis *daye*.'[1]

This whole story fits so entirely into the pattern of the Divine King that it seems unlikely that it could have been fiction. If the monk believed that the king's power of fertility were failing, which the king's own words would imply, he would be justified in his own opinion, and in the opinion of his contemporaries, that the killing of the king was the best possible means of restoring that fertility before the divine power and strength failed so completely as to bring famine and disaster on the country. It should be noted that the abbot connived at the murder, probably for the same reason as the monk. John's own words, that if he lived half a year, that is beyond the climacteric year in which he then was, famine would ensue, points to his own belief in his divine power as the Giver of Life and Fertility. This is the only explanation which makes sense of the record, otherwise the king's words are totally inadequate to account for the monk's

[1] William Prynne, *History of King John*, p. 36. Quoted from the *St. Albans Chronicle* printed by Caxton in 1502. 'The ende of the Kynge was lich his lif, for, as thei say, he dyed of poyson at Swyneshede. He was caryed further o lyve, but there was he servyd.' Capgrave, p. 148.

drastic action, or for the murder of the king to be looked upon as a righteous deed.

The history of Edward II as given in the chronicles is often so contradictory as to suggest an entire misunderstanding, possibly wilful, of the circumstances. Stubbs goes so far as to say, 'It is certain that from the very beginning of his reign he was the victim of unrelenting hostility,'[1] and, 'The people in general were misled, for no pains were spared to spread every sort of calumny against Edward.'[2] This, as I have already pointed out (p. 31) was the fate of all the sacrificed Divine Kings of England, with the exception of Henry VI. Every kind of vice was attributed to them, possibly in order to justify the ritual murder. In Edward's case one of the accusations was that his 'favourite', Piers Gaveston, brought foreigners into England. But it should be remembered that the Plantagenets were entirely foreign themselves and until Henry IV married Mary Bohun, their queens were invariably foreign also. When Edward came to the throne his French possessions were larger than his kingdom of England. It would be only natural that Gaveston, himself a Gascon, should bring many of his countrymen to England. Thus, in 1310, 'Pierce of Gaueston conceiving an affiance in the fauour of king *Edward* & of the young Earle of Glocester, whose sister he had maried, taking with him many strangers, returned into England, & a little before Christmas came to the kings presence, whom the king, forgetting all oathes and promised pacts, receiued as a heauenlie gift. King Edward kept his Christmas at Yorke, when Pierce of Gaueston was present with his Outlandish men.'[3]

Like many of the Royal Victims Edward II was remarkable for personal beauty and physical strength. 'He was fayre of body and great of strength';[4] 'Si fust de soun corps vn dez plus fortz hom de soun realme'.[5] But like other Royal Victims his reign was marked by unusual disasters some clearly caused by the neglect of the sovereign or his ministers, others equally clearly due to natural causes. 'The invasion of Ireland by Edward Bruce, the revolt of Llewelyn Bren in

[1] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, ii, p. 341.
[2] Ibid., ii, p. 399.
[3] Stow, p. 215.
[4] Fabyan, p. 417.
[5] Gray, *Scalacronica*, p. 136.

Wales, the revolt of Banastre against Lancaster, the Scottish devastations extending as far south as Furness, the Bristol war of 1316, aggravated by the floods of 1315, the plague of cattle, the unheard-of scarcity of corn and the unhealthiness of the season of 1310,'[1] all went to show that the Divine Spirit was weak. War, famine and pestilence followed one after the other in all parts of the kingdom. The defeat of Bannockburn—the only pitched battle in which the Scotch defeated the English—came as a shock to the proud barons who had been accustomed to victory under Edward I.

That 'angrie and outragious woman',[2] the queen of Edward II, left her husband secretly and took up her abode in France, where she was the focus for all the barons who were discontented with the king. But it was not until Edward had reached the age of forty-two that she ventured to invade his dominion. This being the year that a victim should suffer, her adherents came in numbers, and the king was deserted. One of the most remarkable points in the whole history of this invasion is the curious supineness of Edward. He not only let himself be taken prisoner, but he made no effort to save his two devoted ministers, the Despensers. Such an act was quite out of character, for he had always been an unusually faithful friend, sacrificing everything for the sake of friendship.

When the coven of thirteen persons demanded his resignation, 'the dolorous king having heard this speech, brake forth into sighes and teares, and being more ready to sacrifice his body for Christs cause, then once to behold the disinherison of his Sonnes, or (through his Occasion) the perpetual disturbance of the Kingdome (as knowing, saith he, that a good shepheard should giue his life for his flock) made at last his answer'.[3]

It is noticeable that as soon as Edward was deposed, the opinions of the chroniclers change completely. Whereas he was a weak and vicious tyrant when king, he now becomes in their records a patient saint and martyr. He was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, which was at first of the lightest kind; but at the queen's order he was handed over to the custody of Sir Thomas Gurney and Sir John Maltravers. She is credited with having urged them to treat him as cruelly as

[1] *D.N.B.*, vi, p. 162. [2] Stow, p. 224. [3] Speed, p. 666.

III. Edward II: effigy in Gloucester Cathedral

IV Edward II: head of effigy in Gloucester Cathedral

possible, and as he did not die from ill treatment they were commanded to put him to death secretly.[1] He was therefore moved about from one prison to another, in order that his friends and adherents should not be able to rescue him. 'He was had out of the castell of Kenelworth, & cōueyed vnto the castell of Berkeley; where after, about seynt Mathewys tyde, the sayd Edwarde, by the meanys of syr Roger Mortymer, was myserably slayne.'[2] The actual method of death was never divulged, and wild stories were current as to his end. Bishop Orleton was always accused of having sent the order for the murder in a phrase which could be read in two ways according to the punctuation, whether the comma should come before or after *timere*. The order is said to have run, *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est.*

The crime was so secretly performed that the most horrible and incredible stories were current, but in all probability he was either stabbed or strangled.

Edward II's body remained in the charge of Berkeley and Maltravers from September 21st to October 21st, when it was taken to Gloucester for burial. William Beaukaire, king's sergeant-at-arms, was there at the king's death and stayed till October 21st. Only these three watchers were with the body for that month; this fact alone suggests that the utmost secrecy was enforced. Glanvill, who was in charge of the expenses from the time of the king's death, claimed thirty-six shillings and eightpence, because four days after the king's burial he returned from Gloucester to Worcester, 'bringing a certain woman, who disembowelled the king, to the queen by the king's order, for two days, staying there one day, and thence returning to York for four days.'[3]

[1] 'Il prist tout cest affaire en pacience, qi dona a soun fitz la beneisoun de Dieu et la soen, qi prioit a Dieu qe il ly feist prodhom et lui donast meilliour grace et gree du people qil nauoit ou. Il fust remue de Kennilworth a Bercelay ou il morust, la maner coment ne fust pas scieu, mais Dieu le sceit.' *Scalachronica*, p. 152.

[2] Fabyan, p. 438

[3] Et eidem moranti apud Gloucestriam ad computandum cum ministris Regis per iiij$^{or}$ dies post sepulturam corporis dicti Regis et redeundo de ibidem usque Wygorn ducendo quandam mulierem que exviceravit Regem ad Reginam precepto Regis per duos dies morando ibidem per unum diem et abinde redeundo usque Ebor$^{a}$ per iiij$^{or}$. dies capienti vt supra xxxvjs. viijd. sicut continetur ibidem. *Archaeologia*, 1, pp 218, 226.

Again it would appear that the embalming was done secretly, possibly that there should be no record of the method of death. He was buried in Gloucester Cathedral, and so many miracles occurred at his tomb that more than one attempt was made to canonize him.

In judging the characters of the Royal Victims one is struck by the similarity of the accusations against them. The two crimes attributed to them are tyranny and lasciviousness. The ecclesiastical chroniclers stress these with great energy, but bring forward no real proof. In the case of Rufus they are obliged to acknowledge that he reduced the country to order, putting down all robbery and violence with such severity as to render the roads safe and preserve the lives of peaceable people. No illegitimate children are recorded of Rufus, which surely would have been the case had there been any. Again with Edward II, he was accused of the same faults, but no real proof is forthcoming. His so-called 'favourites' were men of great ability. When Piers Gaveston ruled England the country was at peace; when he ruled Ireland, he gained the confidence of the chiefs and people, and had an untroubled reign. When the Despensers were in power Edward's reign was calm and peaceful for six years. Edward was certainly not gifted with military genius, which was unfortunate when, as king, he held supreme command in war. But the defeat of Bannockburn was only a temporary setback in a long drawn-out campaign. Edward, however, was alive to the urgent necessities of war, as witness his promptness in sending money to Sir Thomas Gray and so enabling that general to raise the siege of the important castle of Norham. Edward was cursed with an immoral and cruel woman as a wife, but there seems to be no record of illegitimate children of his own.

Edward's character is puzzling if taken on the facts as usually given in history; but, like Rufus, if the influence of the underlying religion is taken into account, the character is quite consistent. He knew himself to be the Divine Victim, the Incarnate God,[1] and that sooner or later his life might be demanded of him. Piers Gaveston, the earl of Lancaster, the younger Despenser, might all die in his stead, but the call for

[1] See Appendix 2a, p. 219.

sacrifice came to him in the end. Nothing else will account for his behaviour. Though he was being hunted by his implacable queen and her lover Roger Mortimer, he continued to issue writs in his own name stating the place from which they were issued and the date. It would hardly require a Sherlock Holmes to trace him, the clues were so obvious and so clearly intentional.[1] He was captured at Neath on 16th November 1326, he surrendered the Great Seal four days later. This was the actual abdication, though the formal act by which he ceased to be king did not take place till 20th January 1327. As he was born on 25th April 1284, he was then forty-two. The actual termination of his life depended on the will of his wife and his son, and they allowed him to taste the full misery of a captive before putting him to death.[2]

That he was regarded as a Divine Victim is shown by the worship paid to him after death. In 1340 a certain John de Baston petitioned Edward III for leave to buy the ground on which he had built a chapel to the honour of St. John the Baptist 'et de nostre seigneur le roy Edward de Karnervan, Votre piere, jesant a Gloucestre, qui Dieux assoile', at Wykeday (weekday) market in the town of Nottingham, where great miracles had long been manifested in honour of the said king.[3] Within ten years 'the swarm of pilgrims was such that the town of Gloucester could hardly lodge the multitudes that thronged to the martyr's shrine from all parts of England'.[4] Among these pilgrims were Edward III, queen Philippa, the Black Prince, queen Joan of Scotland, besides great nobles.

> 'At Gloucester entombed fayre and buryed,
> Where some say God shewed for him great grace,
> Sith that tyme with miracles laudifyed
> Ofte tymes in dyuerse and many case,
> As is written there in that same place;
> For whiche kyng Rychard called the Seconde,
> To translate hym was purposed hole and sounde.'[5]

[1] Parliamentary Writs, vol. II, pp. 453–4. (1888.)

[2] See Appendix 2b, p. 219.

[3] Privy Seal, July 6th, 14 Edw. III. See also *Chronicle of Lanercost*, note on p. 246; and Holinshed, book iii, p. 342.

[4] Tout, *Captivity*, p. 41.

[5] Hardyng, p. 315.

The pattern of the Divine and Royal Victim is clear. Edward was accused of every possible vice while alive; his reign was marked by misfortunes, most of the disasters being beyond human control; he had more than one Substitute Victim; when he had reached the age of forty-two he was compulsorily deposed, which was only the prelude to a violent death; he was murdered; he then became a saint with miracles occurring at his tomb.

It is usually stated that the executioners of the kings and some of their substitutes lived miserably ever after and came to shameful and dreadful deaths. This is, however, not the case. Tyrrel escaped without pursuit, and lived comfortably and happily in his own country of Normandy till he died. The murderers of Thomas à Becket were in no way affected by the crime, one in particular rising to a fairly high rank and enjoying a considerable amount of prosperity. The abbot of Swineshead, if the story is true, was certainly accessory before the fact, yet he appears to have continued his religious life undisturbed.

The fate of the murderers of Edward II was very similar. Maltravers, who was one of the actual murderers, was for two years after the murder steward of the king's household, thus 'in a position to prevent any compromising documents appearing in the wardrobe accounts'.[1] Edward III, four years after his father's death and apparently yielding to public opinion on the matter, brought Mortimer to trial. As one of the accusations against Mortimer was the murder of Edward, his chief associates in that event—Maltravers, Gurney and Ogle—fled and escaped abroad. Ogle died abroad, but Maltravers became Edward III's trusted agent in Flanders, and twenty years later Edward 'annulled his outlawry and restored him to the estate he possessed before the judgment passed against him, and paid a handsome acknowledgement to his great services to the Crown'.[2] Queen Isabella escaped scot-free, and there is some record that she was buried with her murdered husband's heart laid on her breast. Berkeley, in whose care Edward II was supposed to be, pleaded an alibi, saying that at the time of the murder he was at Bradley some miles away, and was ill in bed on that particular night.

[1] Tout, *Captivity*, p. 31. [2] Ibid., pp. 34, 38.

But the record in his own household account shows that he did not reach Bradley till a week after Edward's death. The alibi was accepted, and he apparently lived a quiet and prosperous life. The only person executed for the murder was an obscure man called Simon Barford who was hanged. But possibly owing to public opinion, Sir Roger Mortimer also was executed, though not for the murder only; other crimes were laid to his charge, and he was put to death as a traitor. For some reason not now explainable, pursuit was hot after Gurney and Ogle, both of whom had escaped. Rewards were offered for their capture dead or alive; a hundred pounds for Gurney if alive, a hundred marks if dead. For Ogle the reward was not so high, a hundred marks if alive, forty pounds if dead. Ogle escaped completely and finally died abroad. Gurney was hunted down and was arrested in 1331, in Castile, and sent back to England in custody. He escaped on the way and was caught at Naples in the following year. He fell ill on the way to England and died at Bayonne from natural causes. As the reward was for Gurney alive or dead, the body was brought back to England, but for some unexplained reason was beheaded at sea.[1]

Like all Royal Victims Richard II was endowed with physical strength and beauty; 'in beautie, bountie, and liberalitie, hee far passed all his progenitors'.[2] He had the quickness and the courage of the Plantagenets, but in estimating his character allowance must be made for the fact that he was marked out from his birth as the destined victim, in other words, as the Incarnate God. He was born on Twelfth Night, the day of the Epiphany, and three kings brought gifts to him. 'Anno M.CCC.lxvj. in epiphania Domini natus est *Ricardus* rex *Angliae* apud *Burdeywes*, in cujus nativitate fuerunt iij. magi, scilicet rex *Ispaniae*, rex *Naverniae*, & rex *Portigalliae*, qui quidem reges dederunt puero munera preciosa.'[3] In a period when omens were carefully observed and firmly believed in, such foreshadowings could not be ignored.

Richard was not the eldest son of the Black Prince and the Fair Maid of Kent. There was an elder son who died in

[1] See Tout, *Captivity*, p. 37.
[2] Stow (ed. 1615), p. 277.
[3] Twysden, *Hist. Angl. Script. X. Cronica*, W. Thorn, col. 2142.

1370. 'Prince Edwarde had a sonne borne at Angolesme called after his fathers name Edwarde, but hee liued not long, for hee died about the age of seuen yeeres, and yet not too soone, as it was saide.'[1] The ambiguous remark that 'he died not too soon', may refer to some defect in the child himself, but may also indicate that he was regarded as a Divine Victim for his father or grandfather; thus leaving the way open for his younger brother who already, by well-known and sure omens, had been pointed out as the new Christus Domini.

Richard's career indicates that he believed whole-heartedly in his own divinity, but so also did the commonalty. When Wat Tyler was killed, Richard with the usual Plantagenet quickness to seize an opportunity, at once called on the mob to regard him as their leader and the response was immediate; for like all rioters under the Plantagenets the mob never rose against the king, it was always against the king's bad advisers. When Richard claimed their allegiance on that occasion, he did so knowing that they would recognize his divinity. His quickness saved the situation and the lives of hundreds.

As a deity he never forgot a kindness or an injury, a friend or an enemy, for it was one of the characteristics of God to punish the wicked and reward the good. In 1386, when he began to cast off the restraints imposed upon him during his minority, he was threatened by both the duke of Gloucester and Arundel, bishop of Ely, with the fate of Edward II.[2] A significant threat, coming as it did when he was about to reach the age of twenty-one, a multiple of seven, and also in a climacteric year from the birth of Christ, whose image, and possibly whose incarnation, he claimed to be.

When he actually reached the age of twenty-one, his chief adviser, Sir Simon Burley, was accused of treason, and Gloucester told Richard that if he wished to be king Burley must die.[3] The remark may well imply that Burley was the Substitute Victim at the appropriate time for the sacrifice, and he was beheaded on May 5th, a sacrificial month. But

[1] Stow, p. 266. [2] *Rot. Parl.*, iii, 233.
[3] Ibid., iii, 431. Gloucester's confession.

Richard never forgot or forgave Gloucester for his threat, and in 1397 the twenty-first year of his reign, he arrested his uncle with his own hand, saying, 'By St. John the Baptist, bel oncle, all this will turn out for the best for both of us.'[1] The significant oath by the saint who was beheaded may have shown Gloucester what his fate might be. The official date on which Gloucester met his end was August 25th, one of the sacrificial months, though there is some evidence to show that he was alive as late as September 5th.

In the course of his reign Richard practised a ritual which is not recorded of any of our other kings. 'The king in solemn days and great feasts, in the which he wore his crown and went in his royal array, he let ordain and make in his chamber a throne, wherein he was wont to sit from after meat unto evensong time, speaking to no man, but overlooking all men; and if he looked on any man, what estate of degree that ever he were of, he must kneel.'[2] For a parallel to this ritual it is necessary to go to the Far East, where the Japanese Divine King, the Mikado, was obliged to sit on his throne without moving or speaking for a certain number of hours every day. 'In ancient times he was oblig'd to sit on the Throne for some hours every morning, with the Imperial Crown on his head, but to sit altogether like a Statue, without stirring either Hands or Feet, Head or Eyes, nor indeed any part of his Body, because by this means it was thought that he could preserve peace and tranquillity in his Empire.'[3] Though there is at present nothing to show that either Richard or his people held the same belief as the Japanese as to the efficacy of this ritual, it is at least strange to find this peculiar rite in practice in medieval England.

The deposition of Richard required some slight show at least of legality. A list of his crimes against his country was presented to Parliament, who then declared him unfit to reign. I give here a few of the items from that list:

'There were set forthe solempne articles very heynous to the eares of men, and to some almost vncredible.

[1] Grafton, i, p. 463. For variant accounts of the arrest, see R. Gough, *History of Pleshy*.

[2] *A Short English Chronicle*, p. 12. Spelling modernized.

[3] Kaempler, *History of Japan*, i, p. 150.

(2) Item, that he caused his vncle the duke of Glocester to be arrested without lawe, and sent him to Calais, and there without iudgemente murdered hym. And although the Erle of Arundell vpon his arrainement pleaded his charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in most vile and shamefull maner sodainly put to death.

(10) Item, where this realme is holden of God, and not of the Pope or other prince, the said kyng Richard after he had obteined diuers actes of parliament for his owne peculier profite and pleasure, then he obteined Bulles and extreme censures from Rome, to compell al menne straightely to kepe the same, contrary to the honour and auncient priuileges of this realme.

(16) Item he said that the lawes of the realme were in his head, and som time in his brest, by reason of whiche fantasticall opinion, he destroied noble men and empouerished the pore commons.

(20) Item he had priuie espialles in euery shire, to here who had of him any communicacion, and if he commoned of his lasciuious liuyng or outragious doyng, he streighte waies was apprehended and made a greuous fine.

(25) Item he mooste tirannously & vnprincely said that the liues and goodes of al his subiectes were in the princes hands & at his disposicion.'[1]

That Richard II was actually regarded as divine and on a level with Christ, is shown in the account of his being brought to London as a prisoner by Duke Henry, so soon to become Henry IV. The Londoners came out to meet the Duke. 'Then spake Duke Henry quite aloud to the commons of the said city: "Fair Sirs, behold your king! consider what you will do with him." And they made answer with a loud voice, "We will have him taken to Westminster." And so he delivered him unto them. At this time did he remind me of Pilate, who caused our Lord Jesus Christ to be scourged at the stake, and afterwards had him brought before the multitude of the Jews, saying "Fair Sirs, behold your king!" who replied, "Let him be crucified!" Then Pilate washed his hands of it, saying, "I am innocent of the just blood." And so he delivered our Lord unto them. Much in the like man-

[1] Hall, pp. 9–11.

ner did Duke Henry, when he gave up his rightful lord to the rabble of London, in order that, if they should put him to death, he might say, "I am innocent of this deed." '[1]

The story that Henry IV, like Henry II, indicated his desire for the death of the Divine Victim, is very suggestive. 'King Henry sitting at hys table, and sore sighing sayde, haue I no faythfull friends that will delyuer me from him whose lyfe will be my death, and whose death will be the preseruation of my lyfe? This saying was noted of them that were present, and specially of one called Sir Piers of Exton.'[2]

There are two accounts of Richard's death, both related in the *Traison*. The most dramatic is the account of the murder by Sir Piers d'Exton. 'Item, it is the truth that on the Day of the Kings, when King Henry was in the fields outside London with all the people who had gone to fight against the lords who were in arms to aid King Richard, the said King Henry commanded a knight called Pierre Dexton that he should go straightway and deliver out of this world John of London, named of Bordeaux, who was called Richard King of England, for it behoved that the judgment of Parliament should be accomplished. When the knight had taken leave of King Henry, he rode to the castle where he found King Richard imprisoned, who was seated at table, and presumed that he had dined. And Sir Pierre Dexton called the Squire who carved for King Richard, and forbade him on the part of King Henry not to be again so bold as to taste for the King again, but let him eat by himself if it pleased him for he would never eat again. The squire returned to the chamber where King Richard was all alone at the table, who would not eat because he was alone, and the squire would not taste for him as he was accustomed to do. And King Richard asked, "What news?" The squire replied, "I know no more than that Sir Pierre Dexton has come. I do not know what [news] he has brought." Then King Richard requested the squire to cut up the food, and do the tasting and his duty. Then the squire fell on his knees in front of the table, and cried for mercy to King Richard that he would pardon him for he had been forbidden by King Henry. King Richard was enraged, and seized one of the knives from the table, and

[1] *Archaeologia*, xx, p. 179. [2] Grafton, i, p. 483.

slashed the squire on the head, saying, "Cursed be Henry of Lancaster and thou!" At these words came Sir Pierre Dexton, making altogether eight men, into the chamber of King Richard where he was sitting, each one with an axe in his hand. It is the truth that when the King saw Sir Pierre Dexton enter his chamber, eight altogether all armed, the King pushed the table behind him, and leaped into the midst of the eight, and snatched an axe out of the hand of one of those who had come to murder him. Then King Richard sternly and fiercely put himself on the defensive, and in his own defence he killed four out of the eight. And Sir Pierre Dexton mounted up where the King had been accustomed to sit when at dinner or supper during his imprisonment, and there stood Sir Pierre Dexton quietly, the axe in his hand, until the King should give back in fighting and defending himself against the three murderers. The King defended himself so well that it was a great marvel how he could endure so long against them, for they were fully armed, but King Richard defended himself vigorously as a good and loyal knight should. And in fighting and defending himself he stepped back until he was right in front of the chair where Sir Pierre Dexton was, who gave King Richard a mortal blow, for he gave it so strongly with the axe that King Richard fell backwards. Then cried the King to God for mercy, and he [Exton] gave him again a great blow on the head. Thus died the noble King Richard without confession, which thing was very great pity, and whoever says otherwise does not speak rightly. And when the King was dead the Knight who had given the fatal blow went and sat beside the body of King Richard, and began to weep, saying, "Alas! what have we done? We have put to death him who was our sovereign lord for the space of twenty-two years. I have lost my honour, never shall I be able to enter any country in which I may not be told that I have acted against my honour." On the morrow the body of King Richard was taken to Poursoy [Pomfret?] and there buried like that of a poor gentleman.'[1]

The same author gives the Lancastrian version of Richard's death: 'However, in order to cover up the treason of

[1] *Traison*, pp. 93–6.

the Londoners, their opinion is that he did not die in the way described above, but died otherwise. That is to say, that when he heard tell that his brother the Duke of Dorchester, earl of Huntingdon, and the Duke of Surrey and the earl of Salisbury and the other lords were dead, he was so enraged that he swore he would never eat again, and as they say he was for four days without eating. And when King Henry knew that he would not eat, he sent some prelates to cheer him and direct him to eat. And when the prelates were with him he confessed to one of them, who gave him as a penance that he should eat. And when he tried to eat he could not swallow the food, for the conduits of his body were shrunk. Then said the noble King Richard that he was ended and that he must die. Thus died King Richard, as they say, though most people maintain otherwise, and that he died in the manner stated in the above chapter. To whose soul may God grant a true pardon.'[1]

The author ends his accounts with the words, 'Neanmoins, comment que il en soit advenu touteffoiz mourut-il piteusement et mal a l'honneur des Anglois. Dieu lui face vray mercy, et a tous autres nobles qui pour l'amour de lui eurent moult souffrir.'[2]

The corpse was brought for burial to London from Pontefract, where he was killed: 'Hee dyed the xiiij. day of Februarie, whose body was brought to the Towre of London, and so through the City to Pauls Church bare faced, where hee stood three dayes for all beholders, and had seruice, wher King Henry was present.'[3]

It was noted that the grave clothes, in which the body was shrouded, were so arranged that only the face was visible. This was supposed to have been done to hide the wound given by Exton; but when in 1871 the body was exhumed and examined, the skull was found intact with no sign of the mortal blow. On the other hand death by starvation would have left unmistakable marks on the face, such extreme emaciation could not have passed unnoticed by those who saw him. The author of the *French Metrical History*, who was in close touch with Richard through all the days of his adversity, gives what is possibly the true explanation of the affair.

[1] *Traison*, p. 104. [2] Ibid., p. li, note 3. [3] Stow, p. 325.

After describing the different stories of the king's death, he goes on, 'Thus, as they say, it came to pass that he died. But, indeed, I do not believe it; for some declare for certain that he is still alive and well, shut up in their prison;—it is a great crime in them;—although they caused a dead man to be openly carried through the city of London in such pomp and ceremony as becometh a deceased king, saying that it was the body of the deceased King Richard. Duke Henry made a shew of mourning, holding the pall after him, followed by all those of his blood in fair array, without regarding him, or the evils that they had done unto him. This will be a great burden to them before God at the latter day, when he will sentence the wicked to the everlasting flame of hell.'[1] It is not improbable that the corpse shown to the public and buried as Richard was really of some other man; for if Richard died at Exton's hands, the blows he received must have disfigured his face entirely; and if he died of starvation, whether enforced or self-inflicted, the terrible effects of famine could not have passed unnoticed and unrecorded.

It is possible that Henry IV attributed the disease from which he suffered as divine retribution for the murder of Richard. He is said to have appealed to the pope to be 'assoiled' of that murder, but as he never attempted to carry out the penance which the pope is said to have appointed, it is possible that he did not attach so much importance to Richard's death as the people did. It remained for Henry V to show honour to the dead king. He brought Richard's body with royal pomp to Westminster, 'and there he lete make a ryall terment, and buryed hym by quene Anne his wyf, as his desyre was. Aboute whoos sepulcre ther stande foure grete tapers contynuelly brennynge. And one day in the weke perpetuelly he hath a Dirige with nyne lessons. And on the morne a masse, bothe by note solempnly, on whiche day is gyven also wekely in pens to poure peple enleuen schyllynges & viij.d., all ordeyned by this kyng vpon grete payne. And on the day of his annyversary is yerly gyven twenty pond in pens to pour peple. . . . Alle these thynges performed this noble kyng for his fader. For kynge Harry

[1] *French Metrical History of the Deposition of King Richard the Second.* See *Archaeologia* (1824), xx, pp. 219–20.

the fourth his fader performed hit not duryng his lyf, whome, as it is sayde, God touchyd, and was a lepre er he deyde.' [1]

The same author also gives an account of Richard's second funeral when the body was reinterred in London beside his queen. 'Item, in the year one thousand three hundred fourscore and nineteen, the 12th day of the month of March was brought to the church of Saint Paul of London, in the state of a gentleman, the body of the noble King Richard. And it is the truth that the chariot was all covered with black cloth with four banners thereupon, of which two were the arms of Saint George, and the other two the arms of Saint Edward, that is to say, Azure, over all a cross or and five martlets or. And there were a hundred men dressed all in black, each carrying a torch. And the Londoners sent xxx torches and xxx men, who were dressed in white, who went to meet the body of the noble King Richard. And he was brought to Saint Paul's, the chief church (maistresse eglise) of London. There he was above ground for two days to show the Londoners that they might believe for certain that he was dead. I pray God to have mercy on him and on all others who, for love of him, have suffered a death as cruel as you have heard. Amen.'[2]

Henry VI's life and death show very markedly the characteristics of the Divine King. Substitute victims occur at various dates, and he himself perished with all the marks of the sacrificial Victim. His father, Henry V, had died in the sacrificial month of August at the age of thirty-five, a multiple of seven; Henry VI being then only an infant of not quite nine months old. In 1437 two queens died; Katherine, Henry VI's mother, and Joan, his grandmother, fourteen years from his accession as king. These dates may be coincidental, but on the other hand they may be significant. In 1450, when Henry was twenty-eight, came Cade's rebellion with its accompanying executions and murders. In 1460 the deaths of Richard, duke of York, and of Owen Tudor, Henry's stepfather, have all the features of the Substitute Victim except the age of the king, who was then thirty-eight.

[1] Higden, *Polycronicon*, VIII, ch. xiii, p. 548; ch. xvi, p. 556.

[2] *Traison*, p. 103; also note 5.

But after the Wars of the Roses began the transitions from king to prisoner and from prisoner to king tend to confuse the issue, though the pattern is still visible.

Henry VI is a clear example of the Royal Victim, although in his case there could be no accusation of the breaking of any moral law by which his murder could be justified and the murderers exonerated. He was deficient mentally, to about the same extent as Edward the Confessor. Those who were thus afflicted were at one time known as 'innocent', and it is this quality of innocence that is so continually emphasized in the accounts of Henry VI. Had he inherited his grandfather's political acumen or his father's military talent he might have reigned peacefully and happily. But that very quality of 'innocence' gave the Yorkist brothers their opportunity, of which Edward IV and Richard III took full advantage.

Whether there were any Substitute Victims during this long reign is difficult to determine, for each side—Lancastrian or Yorkist—executed their enemies as opportunity offered and victory inclined their way. But there is some suggestion of such a victim in the death of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, who had been Protector for seven years.

Henry's own fate shows clearly the pattern of the Divine Victim, the Dying God. He died at the age of forty-nine, he was put to death in the sacrificial month of May, the mode of death was by bloodshed, and he was worshipped after death. Like the greater number of the royal Victims Henry was 'of seemly stature, his body slender, his face beautiful'. And again like them he accepted his fate without remonstrance.

Though he was a mere puppet in the hands of Warwick or the queen, he was an anointed king, and as such it was of the utmost importance to keep possession of his sacred person. When at last he fell into the hands of his enemies, his cause was lost, he was doomed to die when his time came, for no Substitute Victim for him would be permitted by his supplanter. There are two versions of his death, which took place in the Tower of London where he was a prisoner. One version is clearly Yorkist propaganda, the other rings more true.

According to the Yorkists, Henry heard suddenly the dreadful news of the complete defeat of the Kentish men who

were on their way to release him. 'The certainty of all which came to the knowledge of the said Henry, late called king, being in the Tower of London. Not having that knowledge of the said matters, he took it to so great despite, ire, and indignation, that of pure displeasure and melancholy he died.'[1] This should be compared with the Lancastrian propagandist account of Richard II's death.

The Yorkist version is entirely contradicted by the account of Henry's funeral (the italics are mine). It was on 21st May 1471, that Edward IV made his triumphal entry into London. 'The same night King Henry was murdered in the Tower of London; on the morrowe hee was brought through Cornhill from the Towre with a great company of men bearing weapons, as they should haue led him to some place of execution, to S. Pauls church in London, in an open coffin barefaced, *where he bled*; thence he was carryed to the Blacke Fryers, *and there bled*; and thence to Chertsey Abbey in a boate, where he was then buryed, but since by King Richard the third, in the .2. yeare of his raigne remooued to Windsore, where he was buryed without the Chancell, at the South doore of the quire of Windsore Chappell, where he was worshipped by the name of the holy king Henry; whose red Hat of Veluet was thought to heale the head ach of such as should put it on their heads.'[2]

It is clear from this that the method of death was by bloodshed, and it is remarkable that stress is laid on the blood falling on the ground. The actual murderers are not known, but Fabyan records the common report, 'Of the death of this prince diverse tales were told; but the most common fame went that he was sticked with a dagger by the hands of the duke of Gloucester.'[3] Commines has the same tale, though he is not really well informed. 'After the Battle was over the Duke of Gloucester slew this poor King Henry with his own Hand, or caused him to be carried into some private place, and stood by himself, while he was kill'd.'[4] What is probably nearest to the truth is in Warkworth's

[1] *Chronicles of the White Rose of York*, p. 93.
[2] Stow, p. 424.
[3] Fabyan, p. 661.
[4] Commines, *Memoirs* (ed. 1712), i, p. 270.

*Chronicle*, which shows that the duke of Gloucester was actually at the Tower on the occasion, possibly being the bearer of the king's order for the execution. 'And the same night that King Edward came to London, King Henry being in ward in the Tower of London, was put to death the 21st day of May, on a Tuesday night, between 11 and 12 of the clock, being then at the Tower the Duke of Gloucester, brother to King Edward, and many others.'[1]

The worship of the dead king Henry seems to have been most popular in the north. 'In the minsters of Ripon and York I find that there were images of him erected, to which adoration was doubtless paid. . . . Where this statue stood [in York Minster] is not known, but, judging from this roll, it was probably removed before it had been long erected. The feeling of veneration towards the royal sufferer was not extinguished, as in 1479 we find an order from Archbishop Booth, that no worship should be paid to his image.'[2] It must have been galling to Edward IV that his predecessor after so many years was receiving the worship and adoration which was at that time Edward's own due as the divine and anointed king. Down to the Reformation there were prayers in the Primer to Henry VI, the king who had died for the sins of the nation.[3]

How far the execution of Charles I may be regarded as a disguised sacrifice is a debatable question. He was certainly not unblemished physically for he inherited from his father some of the deformity of speech and of the legs, 'in his state of increment and growth he was exceeding feeble in his lower parts, his legs growing not erect, but rependous and embowed, whereby he was unapt for exercises of activity. Again, he was none of the gracefullest Orators, for his words came difficultly from him, which rendred him indisposed to speak much. But in the flux of time, and when he began to look man in the face, those tender limbs began so to consolidate and knit together, as the most eminently famed for exercises of honour, were forced to yield him up the garland.

[1] Warkworth, *Chronicle*, p. 21. See Appendix 3a, p. 221.

[2] Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, p. 82, note. (Surtees Society), See Appendix 3b-d, pp. 221–3; for further evidence of the worship of Henry VI.

[3] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* (5th edition), iii, p. 135.

And though his vocal impediment accompanied him till the fatale stroke, yet it was to wise men an index of his wisdom . . . since there was never, or very rarely, known a fool that stammered.'[1] The execution took place on January 30th, which is not a sacrificial day nor even a sacrificial month. Though Lilly (p. 43) speaks of Charles being in his 'climacterical year', he was actually only forty-eight, whereas the climacteric year is forty-nine. On the other hand Burney (p. 26) regards Charles as divine, four covens were appointed to try him, a special service in his honour was added to the liturgy, and his blood appears to have been of peculiar merit, for after the execution 'all who were able to approach the body dipped their handkerchiefs and staves in his blood; the block was cut into small pieces, and large sums of money were offered for a lock of his hair, or a few grains of sand which had been discoloured by his blood'.[2] A very interesting point is that, on the theory of mystic numbers, the person who might well be regarded as benefiting by the death of Charles was Oliver Cromwell, who was then forty-nine, his climacteric year, and was at that time already the ruler in fact though not in name, and though uncrowned and unanointed.

[1] Hamond Le Strange, *King Charles*, p. 1.
[2] Jesse, *Memorials*, ii, p. 192.

Chapter Four

# THE SUBSTITUTE VICTIM

## Norman and Plantagenet

*Thou wilt prolong the King's life.*
Ps. liv, 6

The history of Waltheof, earl of Northumbria, follows the usual pattern of the Divine Substitute. In 1072 'king William deprived earl Cospatrick of his dignity', probably because of the violent feeling of the Northumbrians against having a foreigner set over them. 'After his deprivation Waltheof was raised to the earldom, to which he was entitled both on his father's and his mother's side, being the son of earl Siward by Elfrida, the daughter of Ealdred, who was formerly earl.'[1] By birth and position he was of rank sufficiently high to be allied to the royal family, and he married Judith, the niece of William.

In 1074 Roger, earl of Hereford, gave his sister in marriage to Ralph, earl of East Anglia, contrary to the command of the king. Waltheof attended the ceremony, and found himself involved in a conspiracy to dethrone the king. 'He, however, as soon as he possibly could, went to Lanfranc, the archbishop of Canterbury, and received absolution from him at the holy sacrament, for the crime that he had, although not spontaneously, committed; by whose advice, he also went to king William, who was at the time staying in Norway [*sic*] and disclosing to him the whole matter from beginning to end, threw himself on his mercy.'[2] The rebellion was abortive, and earl Ralph fled to Brittany. 'In the autumn the king returned from Normandy, and placed earl Roger in confinement, and in like manner threw earl Waltheof into

[1] Roger of Hoveden, i, p. 152.
[2] Ibid., i, p. 157.

prison, although he had besought his mercy.'[1] In the following year (1075) on May 31st, suddenly at dawn before the townspeople were awake, earl Waltheof was taken outside the city of Winchester (where he was imprisoned) and there beheaded.

At Christmas, 1074, William held his court at Westminster, 'and some of those who had uplifted their necks against him he banished from England, and others he mangled, by putting out their eyes or cutting off their hands; earls Waltheof and Roger, condemned by a judicial sentence, committed to closer custody. In the year 1075, earl Waltheof was unrighteously led outside the city of Winchester, and there cruelly decapitated with an axe, and buried in the ground on the spot. [But later the body was removed to Croyland and buried in the church there.] While he was still in possession of life in this world, on being placed in close confinement, he unceasingly bewailed what he had done amiss, and most zealously endeavoured to make his peace with God by means of watchings and prayers and fastings and almsgiving; his memory men have tried to bury in the earth, but we are to believe that in truth he rejoices with the Saints in heaven, archbishop Lanfranc, of pious memory, having faithfully attested it, from whom, on making confession, he had received absolution. He asserted that he was innocent of the charge on which he was accused, namely, that of joining in the conspiracy, and that what he had been guilty of in other respects, he had like a true Christian bewailed with the tears of repentance; and Lanfranc declared that he himself should be blessed, if after the end of his life he should be able to enjoy his happy repose.'[2]

Another chronicler gives a more detailed account: 'The executioner, dreading that the townsmen when they awoke would rise in arms to resist the king's warrant and, taking the part of so noble a countryman, massacre the royal guards, called to the kneeling [i.e. prostrate] earl: "Rise, sir, that we may execute our lord's commands." To which he replied, "Wait awhile, for the love of God Almighty, at least while I say the Lord's prayer on your behalf and my own." As they gave their consent, the earl rose from the ground, and on

[1] Roger of Hoveden, i, p. 158. [2] Ibid., i, p. 158.

bended knees, with eyes raised to heaven and hands uplifted, began to say aloud, "Our Father which art in heaven". But when he came to the last petition, having said "Lead us not into temptation," his tears fell so fast, and his sobbings were so violent, that he was unable to conclude the prayer he had begun. The executioner would wait no longer, but drawing his sword severed the earl's head from his body with a single stroke. But the head, after it was severed (caput postquam praesectum fuit) uttered with a loud and distinct voice, in the hearing of all present, the words: "But deliver us from evil. Amen.'. . . . His body was, without ceremony, thrown into a hole dug on the spot[1] . . . the townsmen, roused from sleep by reports of what was going on, abandoned themselves to grief, men and women joining in loud lamentations for the fate of Earl Waltheof. Fifteen days afterwards at Judith's request and with the king's permission, Ulfkytel, abbot of Croyland, came to the place, and raising the bloody corpse which exhibited no signs of decay, the blood being as fresh as if the earl were just dead, conveyed it to the abbey of Croyland, followed by the lamentations of vast crowds of people, and there gave it honourable interment in the chapter house of the monks.'[2]

Lanfranc spoke again in no uncertain terms, declaring that if Waltheof were executed he would be a martyr. Croyland regarded him as a saint, and 'in the third year of abbot Ingulph [1079] miracles began to be wrought at the tomb of Earl Waltheof, the news of which gave great delight among his countrymen'.[3] 'Ingulphus caused the remains of Earl Waltheof to be transferred from the chapter-house into the church [1091], and ordered warm water to be got ready to wash the bones. But when the lid of the coffin was removed, the corpse was discovered to be as sound after its repose of sixteen years as on the day it was buried, and the head was reunited to the body; only there was a red streak round the neck, where the head had been severed; and this was seen by the monks and several laymen who had gathered round. The

[1] Roger of Wendover (i, p. 344) says that at the king's order the body was buried at a cross-road.

[2] *Ordericus Vitales*, ii, pp. 85, 86.

[3] Ibid., ii, pp. 101, 102.

body having been then translated into the church, and interred with great ceremony near the altar, miracles were often performed.' The continuator of Ingulph records a vision which abbot Joffrid had in 1112: he saw St. Bartholomew, St. Guthlac, and St. Neot, standing round the shrine of Waltheof; St. Bartholomew at the head of the bier, St. Guthlac at the foot. St. Bartholomew put the martyr's head on the body, saying, 'He is not headless.' St. Guthlac said, 'He is our Earl.' And St. Neot said, 'He is, in a manner, the king.'[1]

The accounts suggest very strongly that Waltheof was the Substitute Victim for William, for the details follow very closely the pattern of the Divine Substitute. Waltheof was allied to the king by marriage, and was the most important person in the kingdom with the exception of William himself. His personal appearance is given, 'he was muscular in the arms, brawny in the chest, tall and robust in his whole person',[2] showing that he was a man in the prime of life, in full strength and vigour. He was put to death on May 31st, a sacrificial month. The charge on which he was condemned was blatantly inadequate, being merely an excuse for his death, and the method of execution was by the shedding of blood. There was great lamentation among the people, the body remained uncorrupted, he became a saint in popular estimation, and miracles occurred at his tomb. Most significant of all is the remark attributed to St. Neot, 'He is, in a manner, the King.'

It should be noted that Waltheof had taken no part in the rebellion, he could hardly have been accused of misprision of treason seeing that he had given information of the conspiracy at the first possible moment. William's conduct in this affair is peculiar. He merely deprived Cospatrick of his earldom, though that earl had actually taken up arms against the Normans at York as well as having been accessory to the rebellion in which Robert Cumin earl of Durham was killed. The king imprisoned another of the conspirators, Roger of Hereford, who was one of the chiefs of the plot and therefore far more guilty than Waltheof, yet it was Waltheof only who was put to death. The execution is remark-

[1] *Modo est rex*, Ingulph, p. 242.
[2] William of Malmesbury, book iii, p. 286.

able in that it was the only capital punishment inflicted during this reign.[1] William might imprison or mutilate, but Waltheof was the only man he executed for treason. In short, such an execution is so out of keeping with William's usual policy that Freeman remarks on it as something extraordinary: 'William would sacrifice countless lives in his boundless ambition; he did not scruple to condemn his enemies to cruel personal mutilation; he would keep men for years, as a mere measure of security, in the horrible prison-houses of those days; but the taking away of human life in cold blood was something from which he shrank.'[2] It should be noted that the mutilations inflicted by William were never such as to cause death, but rendered the man innocuous as an enemy.

Freeman also calls attention to the difficulty of understanding Waltheof's extreme popularity: 'Altogether we hardly see why, apart from his death, he should have so specially commanded the love of his countrymen. We hardly see why William should first have raised him to a degree of rank and personal favour high above all other Englishmen, and then have so heavily visited on him an offence far lighter than many offences which he had forgiven.'[3]

The description of the sentimentally pious end of a man who had spent his life in war and had faced death many times, can only be due to the desire of the monkish chroniclers to call attention to the extreme sanctity of the victim. Though the pagans might, and probably did, regard him as the actual representative of the Deity, the Christians conveyed the same idea by making him conform to the type of saintly martyr so greatly admired then and in the following centuries. The real facts of a sacrifice of the kind are seen in the demeanour of other victims in similar circumstances; the calm courage of Rufus, the spirited fight for life of Richard II, the joyous gladness of Anne Boleyn, are more true to life than this sentimental account of a weeping, sobbing self-mourner.

In Henry I's reign it is possible that his queen may have been a victim in his stead. She was the daughter of Malcolm

[1] Freeman, *Nor. Con.*, iv, p. 257.
[2] Ibid., ii, p. 270.
[3] Ibid., iv, p. 257.

of Scotland and granddaughter of Edmund Ironside. She died suddenly on a sacrificial day, 1st May (1117), 'snatched away from her country, to the great loss of the people. . . . Her spirit manifested, by no trivial indications, that she was a resident in heaven.'[1] In other words, miracles occurred at her tomb. At the time of her death Henry was forty-nine years of age, i.e. his climacteric year.

There were two deaths suggestive of the Substitute Victim in the lifetime of the empress Matilda. She was a queen in her own right, and was so acknowledged by a large number of the English, and her son was accepted as king by right of his mother. The first of these deaths was that of Matilda's husband, Geoffrey Plantagenet, which took place in 1151, Matilda being then forty-nine. Geoffrey was considerably younger than his wife, and was therefore a man in the prime of life. Seven years later (1158) came the death of Geoffrey the younger son of Matilda and Geoffrey Plantagenet, Matilda being then fifty-six, and the 'victim' who was born in 1134 was then twenty-four, in the first strength of early manhood. The two deaths, occurring as they do, at the seven-year interval and in the multiple-seven-year age of the queen, can hardly be mere coincidence. Matilda's case is important as showing that as queen regnant she could claim a substitute. But when her son Henry succeeded to her throne and she became queen dowager, she herself died when he attained the age of thirty-five.

Some of the ritual murders in Henry II's reign concerned his eldest son, the young king Henry, and there is also one death in that reign which appears to have been for the benefit of Richard. Young Henry died in 1183, leaving Richard as his father's heir. On 19th August 1186, Geoffrey, duke of Brittany, Henry's third son, died suddenly. There are two accounts of his death; one account says that he died in Paris 'from bruises which he received from hoofs of horses at a tournament'.[2] The other account attributes his death to a 'sudden disease of the bowels *because he had threatened his father*'.[3] One can hardly believe that this was a judgment of

[1] William of Malmesbury, book v, p. 454.
[2] Roger of Hoveden, ii, p. 56.
[3] *Gesta Henrici*, u.s.

God for unfilial behaviour. The suddenness of his death is strongly suggestive of poison; and as he died in a sacrificial month when Richard, the heir apparent, was twenty-eight, the evidence seems to point to ritual murder. Richard, however, was so little in England during the ten years of his reign that, if there were any other Substitute Victims, they are not recorded by the English chroniclers.

One of the greatest of all the Substitute Victims was put to death in Henry II's reign. This was Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury; I have dealt with this event in detail in a previous volume.[1] It is perhaps worth noting that the archbishop who succeeded Becket at Canterbury died suddenly of colic (query, poison?) on 14th February 1184. In other words, he died in a sacrificial month fourteen years (a multiple of seven) after his murdered predecessor. This fact gives support to the suggestion that the connection between the king of England and the archbishop of Canterbury was not a Christian bond, but might date back to primitive pagan times, when the Archflamen had special duties towards his Divine Master.

Richard I's reign was so short that there was only one year in which a Substitute Victim can be looked for; this would be the year 1196 for he succeeded to the throne in 1189. In that year there was a remarkable execution, which bears all the marks of the sacrifice. This was William Fitzosbert,[2] a citizen of London, who became a champion of the poor and by his words he appears to have roused some of them to revolt. He was taken by treachery on the eve of Passion Sunday, and tried before a court in which the archbishop of Canterbury was the chief Justice. 'After which taking he was arraigned before the Iudges, and there he and .ix. of his adherentes had judgement to die and were hanged the day following. But yet the rumour ceassed not, for the common people raysed a great cryme vpon the Archbishop of Caunterbury and other, and sayd, that by their meanes, William was an innocent of such crymes as were obiected and put against him, was a defender of the poore people against extorcioners

[1] Murray, *God of the Witches*, p. 168.

[2] The name Fitzosbert, containing the fatal word Os, is suggestive in this connection.

and wrong doers, and that hee was by them put wrongfully to death, affirmyng him an holy man, and a martyr in such wise as foloweth. They sayde that a man beyng sicke of a feuer, was cured by vertue of a cheyne which this William was bound withall duryng the tyme of his imprisonment, which by a Priest of the kindred of the sayd William was openly declared and preached. Whereby he brought the people into such an errour that they gaue credence to his wordes, and secretly in the night conueyed away the Iebet that he was hanged vpon, and scraped away the blood of him when he was headed and quartered, so that they made a hollow place, by fetchyng away of that earth, and said that sicke men and sicke women were cured of diuerse sicknesses by vertue of that blood and earth. By these meanes, and spreadyng abroade the fame thereof, that place was the more visited by women and indiscrete personnes, of the which some watched there all night in prayer; so that the longer this continued, the more outcry and slaunder ranne vpon the Iudges and Iustices that put him to death.'[1] Another account of the same events shows clearly that the victim, William Fitzosbert, was really a member of the Old Religion. 'This counterfeit friend to the poor was by the heeles drawne to a place called the Elmes, and there hanged with nine of his fellowes; where because his fauourers came not to deliuer him, he forsooke Maries sonne (as he termed him) and called the diuell to help and deliuer him. . . . The simple people honoured him as a Martyre, insomuch that they stoale away the gibbit whereon hee was hanged, and pared away the earth, that was be-bled with his blood, and kept the same as holy reliques to heale sickeness.'[2] The horrified author of the last account would naturally call a non-Christian god 'the Devil', but that very epithet shows that Fitzosbert at his death turned to the religion of his fathers, which was still the religion of the people, though not of the ecclesiastical authorities by whom he was tried and sentenced.

The death of Arthur of Brittany has always been laid to king John's charge. In popular histories Arthur is represented as a young boy and John as a usurping tyrant slaying

[1] Grafton, i, p. 227.
[2] Stow, *Annals*, p. 162.

the rightful heir. But in view of the fact that the chronicles were written by ecclesiastics, who by their very religion were John's enemies, it is advisable to examine the facts more closely.

Six months before his marriage Richard I had nominated Arthur as his heir, but that nomination was automatically annulled by Richard's marriage. Arthur therefore was only duke of Brittany by hereditary right, and as such did homage to John as his liege lord when John succeeded to the throne of England and the duchy of Normandy. By feudal law the feudal lord had the right to execute a rebellious vassal who fell into his hands, and Arthur had most certainly risen against his lord, and had also taken up arms against his own father's mother. Arthur was sixteen years of age and was therefore regarded as old enough to marry, to make war, or to rule a principality, and he must have known the consequences to himself of failure before he made war on his overlord.

The death of Arthur fulfils the conditions for the substitute of the Divine King; he was of royal blood, a near relative of the Divine Victim whose substitute he was; according to tradition he was killed by the shedding of blood; and the king (John) had reached the age of thirty-five, a multiple of seven. The exact date of Arthur's death is not known; the conventional date is April 3rd, but actually Arthur disappears after January, and it is therefore possible that he died in the sacrificial month of February. It is worth noting that king Philip of France made no move to rescue or ransom Arthur, and that Louis's proclamation accusing John of the murder was not made till 1216, thirteen years later, when Louis was pursuing an aggressive policy against England.[1]

Though the ecclesiastical chroniclers ascribed to king John every vice that they could think of, no stigma rested on his children. These were still very young at their father's death, Henry III, the eldest, being only nine years old. The daughters were married as soon as they were marriageable; Joan to the king of Scotland, Isabella to the emperor Frederic II, Eleanor to Simon de Montfort; and an illegitimate daughter, also Joan, to Llewellyn, prince of North Wales.

[1] For a French version of Arthur's death, see Appendix 4a, p. 224.

Henry lived to the age of sixty-five, an unusually long life and reign, and it is therefore possible to trace more than one Divine Substitute during those years. His active reign ended at the battle of Lewes on 4th May 1264, when he was taken prisoner by the victorious Simon de Montfort. He was rescued by his son the following year at the battle of Evesham on 5th August 1265. He appears to have become slightly senile, and Edward took over the Government, though Henry, as the anointed and Divine King, continued as the nominal ruler, all acts being done in his name.

Hubert de Burgh fulfils some of the conditions for the Divine Substitute. He rose to such high position that it was said of him, 'He was united to the king in such close intimacy that he thought none of the councillors, except him, of any account whatever.'[1] He married the sister of the king of Scotland, and thus became of royal standing. But fortunately for him the usual accusation of treason, which occurred in 1232, failed of its effect and he lived till 12th May 1243. He thus died in a sacrificial month, when the king had reached the age of thirty-five, a multiple of seven. It may be legitimate to surmise that this is an instance of the use of poison in order to bring the death of the substitute into the right month of the right year.

The most important person in the kingdom during the reign of Henry III was Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester. He also conforms to the pattern of the Divine Substitute in all respects. He was connected by marriage with the king by marrying Henry's youngest sister; for some months he wielded the royal power, and it could be said that after the battle of Lewes 'he seemed now a King, even of Kings, and England wholly in his power';[2] he met his death on the field of battle on 5th August 1265, a sacrificial month, in the year when the king had reigned forty-nine years, a multiple of seven; 'this year, being the fiftieth of the king's reign, which may fitly be called the jubilee';[3] the body was dismembered, 'some malicious persons in despite of the Erle cut off his head and his preuy members, and fastened them

[1] Matthew of Westminster, ii, p. 153.
[2] Daniel, *Comp. Hist.*, i, p. 187.
[3] Matthew of Westminster, ii, p. 440.

vpon either syde of his nose, and after made a present thereof vnto the wyfe of Sir Roger Mortimer: his feete also and his handes were cut of from his body and sent to sundrie places, and the truncke of hys bodie buryed within the Church of Euisham'.[1] 'Thus dy'd the great Earl of Leicester, the worthiest Man of his Time, had he been as good a subject; yet so much honoured by the People after his Death, that they would have worshipped him as a Saint, if the succeeding Kings would have permitted it.'[2] So strong was the feeling of his sanctity that in the eyes of the people the 'martyr of Evesham' was coupled with Thomas à Becket the 'martyr of Canterbury', and was even equated with Christ himself: 'Simon de Montfort who like Christ offers himself a sacrifice for many.'[3] The Franciscans drew up an office to be recited on his anniversary, in which he was invoked as 'the guardian of the English people'.[4] Though the dismembering is said to have been done by 'malicious persons', it was clearly official for the parts were distributed to different places. To sum up the evidence: Simon de Montfort was royal by marriage, for some months he ruled the kingdom, the king being a nonentity during that period; he was killed by bloodshed; the body was divided and the fragments distributed; he was regarded as a martyr and, like Christ, as an actual sacrifice.[5] The death took place in a sacrificial month in the year when Henry had reigned forty-nine years.

Another substitute seems to have been Henry's nephew, Henry of Almaine. At one time he had joined with Simon de Montfort, but afterwards turned to the king. In 1271 he was at Viterbo, and was there murdered in the cathedral by Guy de Montfort, son of Simon. This is usually taken to be revenge on the part of Guy for his father's death, but that does not explain all the circumstances. For the body was dis-

[1] Grafton, i, p. 272. 'Then had thei the third batail of Evesham. There was Simon taken, and schamfully ded; for thei smet of his hed, and then his armes and then his legges, and so lay his body like a stok.' Capgrave, p. 159.

[2] Daniel, op. cit., i, p. 187.

[3] Wright, *Pol. Songs*, p. 89.

[4] Ibid., p. 124.

[5] . . . Venerabilis. S. de Monte-forti,
Qui se Christo similis dat pro multis morti.
Wright, p. 89.

membered, part was buried at Viterbo, the rest was brought to England, and buried at Hailes, all except the heart, which was deposited in a golden cup in Westminster Abbey, and it was venerated as a holy relic.[1] These facts suggest that this was a ritual murder for the sake of the English king, although it took place abroad. The victim was royal, he died by the shedding of blood, the body was dismembered and the parts distributed, the victim was then venerated as a saint, and the event took place when Henry had attained the age of sixty-three, the grand climacteric year.

In the reign of Edward I three Substitute Victims can be found. The first was in 1232 when Llewellyn, prince of North Wales, was killed. According to Matthew of Westminster he was killed in battle, and his head was sent to London, and set up, crowned with ivy, 'on top of the Towre of London'.[2] Another authority says, 'the Kyng toke hym ande lette smyte of hys hedde the .ix. daye of Feverer'.[3] The rank of the victim, the ritual shedding of blood by beheading though the man was already dead, the crowning, and the death in the sacrificial month, all suggest the sacrifice.

Llewellyn's brother David, in 1283, was 'dragged at the tail of a horse through the town of Shrewsbury, and then hanged, and afterwards beheaded, and after that, his body was divided into four parts, and at last his heart and his bowels were burnt, his head was carried to London, and erected on a pole on the top of the Tower of London, opposite to that of his brother. The four portions of his headless trunk were sent to Bristol, Northampton, York and Winchester.'[4] This is one of the earliest instances of the full punishment of a traitor, but it also has the features of a ritual murder. The disembowelling is found in the ritual of the burial of the Norman and early Plantagenet kings, here the distinction is made by burning the intestines instead of burying them. There is also the ritual beheading of the dead body, so that the blood may be shed; and the distribution of the quarters of the dismembered body to different parts of

[1] Matthew Paris.
[2] Matthew of Westminster, ii, p. 477.
[3] *Gregory's Chronicle*, p. 71.
[4] Matthew of Westminster, ii, p. 478.

England shows that the sacrifice was for the benefit of the whole kingdom and not as a means of striking terror into the victim's followers, who in this case were the Welsh.

The most important of the Substitute Victims in this reign was William Wallace.[1] He came of small landed gentry, not noble but not peasant. His career was not so distinguished as to make him the popular hero that he became, but his death shows that he was of some special importance. According to the Lanercost Chronicle he was *custos regni*. He was charged with having sworn fealty to Edward; and by making war against his liege lord and by issuing brieves as if superior to the king, was guilty of *lese-majesté* and treason. If my explanation of the circumstances is correct, the accusation was probably untrue, for the Substitute Victim had to be innocent of the crime of which he was accused. He was betrayed by a compatriot, and brought to London, where he was tried, condemned and executed. In the English records his career is compressed into a few words: in 1298, 'the sayde Scottes made them a Capitaine, whome they named William Walys, a man of vnknowen or low birth, to whom they obeyed as vnto their king'.[2] In the same year was the battle of Falkirk, 'King Edward wanne the battell of Faulkirke in Scotland, vpon Saint Mary Magdalens day, in which battell was slaine more than twentie thousand Scots, & William Walleis their captaine fled'.[3] In the following year (1299), 'when William Walys, which as before is sayde pretended the rule and gouernaunce of Scotland, heard tell that the strong Castell of Estriuelyn [Stirling] was yelded vnto king Edward, and that the Lordes and knightes therein founden (in whome he much trusted) were sworne to the kinges allegeance, he feared sore least the sayde company would betray him, and bring him vnto the king: Wherefore he with his adherentes withdrewe them into the Maresses and other such places, where they thought them selues safe from pursuyng of the kinges host.'[4] It was not till 1302 that Wallace was captured, a reward of forty marks was offered and he was betrayed by

[1] See Appendix 4b, p. 224.
[2] Grafton, *Chronicle*, i, p. 298.
[3] Stow, *Annals*, p. 207.
[4] Grafton, op. cit, i, p. 299.

one of his followers, 'in the .xxxiij. yeare of his [Edward's] reigne Wylliam Walys was taken in Scotlande at the Towne of S. Dominick, and sent vnto London, and there arreigned, and the .xxiiij. of August he was drawen, hanged, hedded and quartered, and his hed set vpon London bridge, and his foure quarters sent into Scotland, and there hanged vpon the gates of certayne townes of the land'.[1]

Another account states that Wallace was false to his oath of allegiance to Edward I. 'Wylliam Waleis, that was sworne lige man to the Kynge of Inglond, he made hym selfe Kynge of Schottys, and rebelis a yenste the Kyng of Inglond. And he was take and brought unto the Towre of London, and there he was jugyd that he schulde be trawe, hangyd, and quartryd and hys bowyllis i-brente before hym &c.'[2]

A more detailed account mentions the crowning with laurel, an item which brings this execution into line with the crowning of his contemporary Llewellyn, prince of Wales (see p. 93), and the similar crowning of Hugh le Despenser the Younger and of Richard, duke of York (p. 115 n. 1).[3]

It was in 1305 (*an. reg.* 31) that 'William Wales which had oft times set Scotland in great trouble, was taken and brought to London with great numbers of men and women wondring vpon him: he was lodged in the house of William Delect a Citizen of London, in Fenchurch streete. On the morrow being the eeuen of Saint Bartholomew [August 23rd] he was brought on horse backe to Westminster, Iohn Segraue and Geffrey, knights, the Maior, Sheriffes and Aldermen of Londone, and many other, both on horse-backe and on foote accompanying him, and in the great hall at Westminster, hee being placed on the South bench crowned with Laurell, for that he had said in times past that he aught to beare a crowne in that Hall (as it was commonly reported)

[1] Grafton, *Chronicle*, i, p. 301. There is a record of fifteen shillings being carriage of the corpse from London to Scotland.

[2] *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London* (*Gregory's Chronicle*), p. 73. (Date of MS. *circa* 1469.)

[3] The crowning appears to have had a ritual significance in Plantagenet times. The chief victims to whom this was done were Llewellyn (ivy), Wallace (laurel), Hugh le Despenser the Younger (nettles), Strickland, i, p. 516. Richard, Duke of York (grass), For the crowning of Wallace with periwinkle, see Appendix 4b, p. 225.

and being appeached for a traitour, by Syr Peter Mallori the kings Justice, hee answered that he was neuer traitour to the K. of England, but for other crimes whereof hee was accused, he confessed them, and was after headed and quartered.' [1] The dismembered body was dispersed to London Bridge, Newcastle, Berwick, Stirling, and Perth.

Wallace conforms in so many ways to the Substitute Victim that it is impossible not to regard his death as the sacrifice for the king. He was not actually a crowned king, but in all other respects he was the virtual king of Scotland. His protestations of innocence of the crime of which he was accused, though confessing other offences, is in keeping with the regulation pattern; the crowning, whether in derision or as emblematic of the king, follows the type set in the crowning of Llewellyn, and is found again when Richard, duke of York was killed. The ritual beheading after death, the dismembering and scattering of the parts of the victim's body, and the death in a sacrificial month, all point to the same conclusion. The fact that the prince, afterwards Edward II, was then twenty-one, is also suggestive of a sacrifice.

The career of Piers Gaveston is so clearly of the customary pattern that there can be little doubt that he was the destined substitute for his royal and divine master. Though not noble he was of sufficiently gentle birth to be appointed, when a boy, by Edward I as a companion to Edward, the young prince of Wales; and the two boys grew up together. Edward I's treatment of Gaveston in later years was marked by severity; the usual explanation given by the chroniclers is that it was caused by Gaveston's dissolute conduct and by the king's fear of Gaveston's evil influence on the prince, that Gaveston was therefore banished, but that as soon as Edward I was dead the young king recalled his 'favourite'. But the facts, though probably accurately recorded, can admit of another explanation, if the power of the Old Religion as a living force underlying the official Christianity is realized. In that case Edward I was attempting to prevent a sacrifice by sending the predetermined victim out of the country; but Edward II, in order to preserve his own life,

[1] Stow, p. 209.

V. Richard II

VI. Henry VI

brought that victim back again knowing what his end would be.

Little is known of the ancestry of Gaveston, but a few significant facts are recorded. 'The Lords told the King, that the father of this Pierce was a traitor to the King of France, and was for the same executed, and that his mother was burned for a witch, and that y^e^ said Pierce was banished for consenting to his mothers witchcraft, and that hee had now bewitched the King himself.'[1] This accusation suggests very strongly that Gaveston was by heredity and early training a member of the Old Religion, and would therefore believe in the necessity for the sacrifice of the Divine King, and the possibility of a substitute dying in his stead.

Gaveston's mother was the possessor of three castles in Gascony, which her son inherited; this shows that he was of a rank sufficiently high to be a fit companion for the prince. He was accused of leading the young prince astray into wild and wicked ways, but Edward seems to have been no worse than many of his contemporaries, and certainly no worse than Henry V was in his youth. The accusations are vague assertions of immorality,[2] but the only definite and detailed charge against him—a charge that was indeed serious—was brought in 1299 by the bishop of Chester for breaking the game laws. This was at that time a capital crime, and a man of lesser rank could have been hanged for it. 'Maister Langton then Bishop of Chester made a grieuous complaint to the king of sir Edward his eldest sonne, for that he with Piers of Gauestone and other wanton and wilde persons, had broken the Parke of the sayde bishop, and riotously destroyed the game within it. With the which complaint the king was sore agreued against his sonne, and commaunded him to Prison and the other his complices. And afterward when the king was fully and truely informed of the lewde and wanton dis-

[1] Stow, p. 213. In a contemporary peom on the death of Gaveston, the author exults in his fate and accuses him of using charm:

> . . . Gloria comitibus
> Qui Fecerunt Petrium mori *cum suis carminibus.*

Wright, *Pol. Songs*, p. 261.

[2] 'Peris de Gauirstoun fust accuse au roy de diuers crimes et vices, pur quoi nen fust dignes a estre pres le fitz le roy, pur quoi il fust exilez et foriurrez.' Gray, *Scalacronica*, p. 131.

positions of the sayd Piers Gauerstone, he therefore banished the sayde Piers out of England for euer.'[1]

The career of Gaveston on his return from banishment is interesting as showing the pattern of the Substitute Victim and showing also that the facts as related are capable of more than one construction.

When Edward I lay dying 'he is said to have called before him his son Edward, and charged him with divers points upon the charge of his blessing, among the which one special was, that he should never after that day suffer Piers of Gaveston to return into England. . . . Anon as his father was buried and his exequy scantly finished, he, forgetting the high and chargeable commandment of his said father, sent in all haste for his old compere Piers of Gaveston, the which he received with all joy and gladness, and advanced him to much honour.'[2] It was on his return from this banishment that Piers began his meteoric career. He was an extremely able man, as his term of government in Ireland showed; and as far as the English chronicles record, he was a better ruler than Edward or any of the nobles. The king heaped upon him every honour that it was in the royal power to bestow, until Gaveston's rank was so high that he was regarded as a fit husband for the King's own niece, the daughter of Joan of Acre. At the same time Edward created him duke of Cornwall, a title which until then had been reserved only for near blood relations of the king. If Piers was, as I claim, the destined victim, these honours were only preliminary and the end was inevitable.

'In this 4th year the rule and power of Piers Gaveston more and more increasing, in so much that he had the guiding of all the king's jewels and treasures, went upon a day unto Westminster, and there out of the king's jewel house took a table and a pair of trestles of gold, and conveyed them, with other jewels, out of the land, to the great impoverishment of the same, and over that brought the king, by means of his wanton conditions, to manifold vices, as adultery and other. Wherefore the lords, seeing the mischief that daily increased by means of this unhappy man, took their counsel

[1] Grafton, i, p. 300.

[2] Fabyan, pp. 405, 417. Spelling modernized.

together at Lincoln and there concluded to void him again out of England, so that shortly after he was exiled into Flanders, to the king's great displeasure. . . . In this 5th year was again revoked by the king Piers of Gaveston, out of Flanders; the which, after his again coming, demeaned him worse than he before did; in so much that he disdained the lords of England, and of them had many dispiteous and slanderous words. Wherefore, the lords of one mind assented to put this Piers to death; and soon after assembled their powers and besieged him in the castle of Scarborough, and in process won that castle, took him and brought him to Gaverside beside Warwick, and there the 19 day of June smote off his head.'[1]

Gaveston's reign of power lasted only from July 1307 to May 1308, but much that was significant happened in that short period. When Edward went to France to marry the French princess, Isabella, Gaveston was made Guardian of the Realm during the king's absence, being invested with full royal power. The relations between the king and Gaveston are summed up by Stow: 'the king gave to Piers of Gaveston all such gifts and jewels as had been given to him, with the crowns of his father, his ancestors' treasure, and many other things, affirming that if he could, he should succeed him in the kingdom, calling him Brother, not granting anything without his consent.'[2] The gift of the crowns is important and suggests that there might have been some ceremony of crowning in the appointment of the Substitute Victim.

Fabyan has greatly abridged the history of the last months of the tragedy, though much of it was very significant. Gaveston was not only banished by the lords of the Council, but was also provisionally excommunicated by the archbishop of Canterbury if he should dare to return to England, a proceeding which would be natural if it were known to the archbishop that Gaveston was a member of the Old Religion. The decree of banishment was passed in May 1308, and Gaveston was sent to Ireland, where he remained till Edward persuaded the pope to annul the excommunication, when Gaveston returned to England. In 1310 occurred the

[1] Fabyan, p. 418. Spelling modernized.

[2] See Appendix 4c, pp. 225–7.

Scottish war, where Gaveston distinguished himself as a military commander. In October 1311 a decree of banishment was pronounced against him, and he was ordered to 'leave the kingdom' before the Feast of All Souls. Gaveston obeyed the order very leisurely, and was back in England before Christmas. He must have known that his fate was sealed by this action, yet he rushed on his death. As soon as they learned of his return the barons rose in arms against him, and he was publicly excommunicated. No valid reason has ever been given as to why he was excommunicated.

Edward and Gaveston were at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the barons marched rapidly northwards. On their near approach the king and Gaveston went by sea to Scarborough, where Gaveston took refuge in the keep of the castle, while Edward marched his army against the barons. The forces under the earl of Pembroke ignored Edward and besieged Scarborough for three weeks. Gaveston then offered to surrender upon terms, which were accepted. One item of those terms is peculiar; Gaveston stipulated that nothing should be done against him till August 1st, the surrender being on May 19th. The occurrence of two sacrificial months in this transaction is worth noting. Pembroke did not keep his word; he guarded his captive so slackly, perhaps on purpose, that the earl of Warwick coming with an armed party, snatched the prisoner away. Gaveston was then taken to Warwick, where he was tried before two justices and condemned to death. On June 19th he was taken to the top of Blacklow Hill and there beheaded.[1] There are two different accounts of the behaviour of the crowds at the execution; Merimuth says that a number of men raised a great clamour with their voices and horns, as against an enemy of the king; but William of Malmesbury says that those who witnessed the scene could not restrain their tears. There is no explanation as to why Gaveston was taken to the top of a hill for the execution, unless it was an early site of sacrifice, for as a rule such executions were done in an open space in or near a town.

[1] 'He called Gy of Warwik no other name but the Black Dog of Arderne, and on Gyis lordship his hed was byten fro the body.' Capgrave, p. 478. See Appendix 4d, p. 226, for a vituperative poem on Gaveston.

After the execution the body was left lying in the sand, until four cobblers came out from Warwick, placed the body on a ladder and carried it into Warwick for burial. But the earl of Warwick sternly forbade the burial in any part of his domains, and ordered that the body should be taken out of his estate. It was therefore taken to Oxford to the house of the Jacobin Friars, where it remained, apparently unburied. Day and night it was watched over by the monks, who prayed beside it, and it became to a certain extent an object of pilgrimage, until the Octave of St. John the Evangelist (January 3rd), when it was taken to Langley by Edward II and buried with royal pomp.[1] The reason for the non-burial was possibly because Gaveston died excommunicate and unshriven; but the desertion of the body and the subsequent splendid funeral are too like the procedure on the death of a king (p. 35) to be passed over unnoticed. The funeral ceremonies were conducted by the archbishop of Canterbury and ten bishops, the king being present. The splendour of the ceremony and the number of high ecclesiastics who performed the rites indicate that the excommunication was no longer in force. Edward mourned for his friend for a little while, but 'this same year (on November 13th) Isabella the queen, broute forth Edward the Thirde. . . . The king had so great joye of this child new born, that his hevinesse for Petir cesed sone.'[2]

The career of Gaveston follows the pattern of other Substitute Victims. He rose suddenly from a comparatively humble station in life, he married a near relative of the king, he wielded the royal power with such ostentation that the king appeared merely a puppet, his fall was sudden, and he died by bloodshed in the year that Edward reached the age of twenty-eight, a multiple of seven.

The career of Sir Roger Mortimer follows the usual pattern of the Substitute Victim. He rose to power through the favour of queen Isabella and of the young king Edward III. 'The yong King of England and the Queene his mother gouerned the realme by the counsaile of the Erle of Kent Vncle vnto the king, and by the counsaile of sir Roger

[1] *Ann. Lond.*, 207. See also Dodge, *Piers Gaveston*.

[2] Capgrave, p. 178.

Mortimer.'[1] One year later (1328) Mortimer's power appears to have been supreme, the king being a mere cipher. Mortimer had been created earl of March, and by the death of the earl of Kent (which was said to have been by his procurement) he remained as the sole adviser of the king. In 1329 'there was a parliament holden at Nottingham, where Roger Mortimer was in such glorie and honour, that it was without all comparison. No man durst name him other than the Earle of March; a greater route of men waited at his heeles, than on the Kinge's person: he would suffer the king to rise to him and would walk with the king equally, step by step, and cheeke by cheeke, neuer preferring the king, but would goe formost himselfe with his officers: he greatly rebuked the Earle of Lancaster, cousin to the king, for that without his consent he appointed certaine lodgings for Noble men in the Towne, demaunding who made him so bolde, to take up lodginges so nigh vnto the queene: with which wordes the Constable being greatly feared, appointed lodging for the Earle of Lancaster one myle out of the towne; and likewise were lodged the Earle of Hereford, Iohn de Bohune of Essex, high Constable of England, and others. By which meanes, a contention rose among the Noblemen, and great murmuring among the common people, who saide, that Roger Mortimer the Queenes Paragon [*sic*], and the K. Master, sought all the meanes he could to destroy the Kings bloud, and to vsurp the Regall Majestie.'[2]

Though not of royal blood, he was openly queen Isabell's lover,[3] even before her husband's death, and the liaison continued until the very night of his arrest, for he was taken in her chamber. He was suddenly arrested and imprisoned, then tried on several capital charges so arranged that if not found guilty on one there were other equally heinous crimes to be investigated. The chief charges were that he had been the principal agent in compassing Edward II's death, that he had wasted the king's treasure to his own profit, and that

[1] Grafton, i, p. 328.

[2] Stow, p. 229.

[3] 'He was more secret with Queene Isabell the king's mother, than was to Gods pleasure or the kings honour. . . . It was openly reported that Isabell the kinges mother was with childe by Mortimer.' Grafton, i, p. 332.

he had misgoverned the realm. He was tried by his peers, found guilty, and condemned to death. A verdict by the peers was always carried out without delay. 'After thys iudgement there was no sparyng, respite or delaye could be graunted; but incontinent, he was drawen on a hardell thorough London, and then set on a Ladder, and hys members cut from him, and cast into the fyre, and hys heart also, because he had conspired treason, and then quartered, and his quarters sent to foure of the best Cities of the realme, and his head set vpon London Bridge.'[1] The day of execution was the Eve of St. Andrew, November 29th.[2]

Except that the years of the king's age and reign do not conform to the usual pattern, the main lines of Mortimer's career follow the course of the Substitute Victim. He rose to power till he overtopped the king; his liaison with the queen made him one of the members of the royal family; his fall was unexpectedly sudden; he was acrimoniously vilified and he was accused of crimes, which accusation may or may not have been true; he died with the shedding of blood in a sacrificial month. A significant part of the execution was the excision and burning of the genetalia and the heart. The body was dismembered, and the quarters distributed to the principal parts of the kingdom.

In 1397, which was Richard II's twenty-first regnal year, there took place the great trial for treason, which involved the duke of Gloucester, the earl of Arundel, and the earl of Warwick. Arundel had been one of the five lords who had compelled Richard II to accept the imposition of their rule; they had made him consent to the execution of Sir Simon Burley; and had, very astutely, obtained from him a charter of pardon for all their actions. But when Richard had reigned twenty-one years, the duke of Gloucester died mysteriously while in custody, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick were tried for their lives. The trial took place on St. Matthew's day (Sept. 21st), John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, being

[1] Grafton, i, p. 332.

[2] 'The same Syr Roger Mortymer was hangyd uppon a comyn galowys of therys of Synt Androwys eve, the yere of oure Lorde M'ccc & xxx.' *Gregory's Chronicle*, p. 79.

the chief judge. 'Edward earle of Rutland, the Earles of Kent, Huntingdon, Nottingham, Sommerset, and Salisbury, with the Lords Spencer and Scroope, in a sute of red gownes of silke garded, and bordered with white silke, & embrodered with letters of gold, propounded the appeale by them to the king at Nottingham, before set forth: in the which, they accused Thomas Duke of Gloucester [then a prisoner at Calais where he died], Richard Earle of Arundell, Thomas Earle of Warwicke, & Thomas de Mortimer Knight [then absent in Ireland], of the premised treasons, and of an armed insurrection of Haringay Parke, traiterously attempted against the King . . . Richard Earle of Arundell was arraigned in a red Gowne, and a Scarlet hood, and forthwith the duke of Lancaster said to the Lord Nevell, take from him his girdle & hood, and so it was done.'[1]

There are several accounts of the trial, but the most interesting and suggestive is given in an anonymous chronicle, which though fragmentary, has some information not found elsewhere. (The italics are mine.) 'Thanne the erl of Rutland, the erl of Huntingdoun, the erl of Salisbury, the erl of Notynghame, and othir, appelid the duke of Gloucestre, the erl of Arundell, and the erlle of Warwic of treson doon ayens the king the .x. and .xj. yeer of his regne, and the kyng sente a justice to the said duke of Gloucestre, forto axe and enquire of him, how he wolde excuse him of such thyngis and appelis as were put and laid ayens him. . . . In the xxj. yeer of king Richard, he ordeyned and held a parlement at Westmynstre, that was callid the grete parlement, and *this parlement was maad only forto sle the erle of Arundelle* and othir, as thayme likid at that tyme. And for their jugement the kyng lat make a long and large hous of tymber in the paleis of Westminstre, that was callid an Hale; couered with tilez, and open on bothe sidez and atte endis, that all myghte se thorough; and the king commaunded eueri lord, knyghte, and squier, forto bryng with theym their retenuez, and come to the parlement as thay myghte. And the King him self sente in to Chestreshire for a gret multitude of yomenn and archiers, and thaym he held in his hous, and thaym most loued and cherished aboue all othir. . . . Also he reuoked all

[1] Stow, p. 316.

the statutes that were maad in the parlement holden the .x. and .xj. yeer of his regne, and also alle the chartres of pardoun, and nameli the pardoun that was graunted frely to the erlle of Arundelle; for, as he saide, that was grauntid in preiudice of him and his croune. . . . "That pardon", said the duke, "is reuokid be the parlement, for it was grauntid *whanne thou were kyng*." The erle saide, "Yf that pardon may not serve, I have anothir pardoun that the kyng grauntid me frely .v. yeer gone of his owen mocioun." "And that pardoun", saide the duke, "is also reuoked be the ordenaunce of the parlement." "fforsoth", said the erl, "the king may be his prerogatif graunte his chartre of pardoun to whom it likith him, for all maner of trespas; and yf ye haue ordeyned that he may not or shal not do so, ye haue do more ayens his prerogatif thanne evir dede I; and yf thou, John duke of Lancastre, were wel examined, thou hast do more ayens the kyng than I." Thanne the erlle was counselid to put him in the kyngis grace, and he saide, "I put me in the grace of the high kyng of heuene, *and for the lawes and comune profit of England I am redy to dye*." And anon the duke yaf on him iugement and saide, "The kyng pardoneth the thy drawyng and hankyng, but thyn hed shalle be smyte of atte tourhille, in the same place where ser Simon of Beuerley was beheddid, and thi childryn shall be disheritid and excludid fro the parlement and the kyngis counsel for euermore. Thanne on Saint Matthewes day, apostel and euangelist, the erl was lad fro the place of his iugement, and his handis bounde behynde him, thorough the cite of Londoun unto the Tourhille, and there his hed was smyte of. And vj. of the lordis that sat on his iugement, riden with him with greete strengthe of men of armes and archiers to see thexecucion done aftir thair judgement, for thay dradde that the erl shold haue be rescued be thaym of Londoun: and thus deide the gode erl and is buried atte ffrere Austynes, in Londoun." "[1] He was buried on the north side of the choir of the church of the Augustine friars in London, and 'on his grave a sumptuous Tombe was set of Marble stone'.

There are several accounts of the actual execution, which appears to have caused a great sensation. When the earl

[1] *An English Chronicle*, pp. 8–10.

came to the place of execution 'where he should die, he changed no cheer, but took the sword from him that should smite, and felt if it were sharp and said, "It is sharp enough; do thy deed, I forgive thee my death." With a stroke his head went off. And a Friar Augustine, cleped Fekenham, bare it home in his lap. His other brethren bare home the body into the Convent.'[1] After his death miracles occurred and he was worshipped as a saint. 'There did they behead him. And with his soul may I be found worthy to rest in bliss: for, assuredly, I doubt not that he is gathered to the company of the saints. As to his body, though it was then without honour laid in the church of the Austin Friars in London, yet now is it most gloriously worshipped with deep reverence and with abounding offerings of the people.'[2] Capgrave records a curious incident. After the execution the king had evil dreams on account of a rumour among the people. 'Moreover this grieved him that the common people talked that he was a martyr, and that his head was grown again to his body. For these causes in the tenth day after his sepulture, at the ten hour at even, the king sent certain dukes and earls to delve up the body, and make a friar for to go betwixt the head and the body.'[3]

The duke of Gloucester, after his dramatic arrest by the king himself, was sent to Calais. 'This duke laborynge in grete infirmite was brought to Calys and put into streyte kepynge with grete peynes and mony, ffor the kynge sende to Calys oftetymes prively that thei scholde schorte his dayes with owte effusion of bloode. And at the laste they broughte hym furthe in a nyghte unto a chambre with owte eny lyghte, where they hade made redy a fether bedde, seynge to hym "Make haste and dispose for thy sawle, for the tyme of thy dethe drawethe nere, by the precepte of kynge Richard." The duke seide: "Allas, frendes! God have mercy on yow; wylle my lorde and kynge that y dye in this wyse lyke a swyne? Neverthelesse y take me to the wylle and mercy of Criste my maker, preyenge yow that y may giffe certeyn lawde to hym afore my dethe." That doen, he seide, "Per-

[1] Capgrave, p. 265. Spelling modernized.
[2] Adam of Usk, p. 159.
[3] Capgrave, p. 266. Spelling modernized.

forme that ye have intended: y truste in the Trinite, y schalle not drede whatsoever may do the to me." Then thei toke and put hym on a feder bedde, puttenge on hym an other, and tredynge on hym unto the tyme that he was dedde; and ther were v. men at the puttynge of hym to dethe, whiche escapede not withowte vengeaunce, God be thankede! And the body of the seide duke was sende to Ynglonde, and beryede at London in the churche of Seynte Paule with grete honoure.'[1] It is clear that the deaths of these two men Gloucester and Arundel, were regarded as something more than ordinary executions. 'After the taking of these Lordes was blowen abroade, there was made great moane for them throughout all England, as though the Realme had bene deliuered into the enemies handes; so great hope had the Commons vniuersally in them, but most specially in the Duke of Gloucester, whome the Realme beleued, that *by his prosperitie the same was safe from all inward and outward enemies*.'[2]

The trial of the earl of Warwick shows that the whole affair was engineered to give Arundel's trial the appearance of legality. It was not serious, though the wretched prisoner thought it was. 'The Earle of Warwicke was arraigned, and his hoode being taken off, and the appeals read, as hee had beene some miserable old woman, confessed all things contayned in appeals, weeping, wayling, and howling, to bee done trayterously by him, and submitting himselfe to the kings grace in all things, sorrowing that euer hee had beene associate vnto the appellants. Then the King demaunded of him by whom he was allured to ioyne with them, and he aunswered by Thomas Duke of Glocester, and the Abbot of S. Albones, & a Monke recluse of Westminster, & besought the King of grace and mercie, and the King granted him life to be led in perpetuall pryson out of the Realme.'[3] This account shows that Warwick was not a Substitute Victim. Scenes of humiliation and of cringing appeals for mercy must have been common enough, but nowhere is such a scene recorded of a substitute. Without exception, though they might defend themselves with spirit, they received the

[1] Higden, Continuation, viii, p. 510.
[2] Grafton, i, p. 464. The italics are mine.
[3] Stow, p. 318.

sentence of death with calmness and a gallant courage. The earl of Arundel was clearly a Substitute Victim. Though not royal he was a Knight of the Garter and he apparently acted as king; the parliament was called for the express purpose of trying him, it was in the twenty-first regnal year of the king, he died by bloodshed, and he received worship and offerings after his death.

Henry IV's reign was a troubled one because the many adherents of Richard II regarded him as a usurper, and there were several conspiracies to restore the line of York to what was thought to be their rightful inheritance. Though there were in consequence a considerable number of executions for rebellion and taking up arms against the reigning king, these can usually be distinguished from the executions of the substitutes.

Before Henry had been three years on the throne, that is when he had reached the age of thirty-five, Sir Roger Claryndon, the bastard son of the Black Prince was hanged in February 1402.[1] This is reminiscent of the Biblical account of the hanging of the bastard sons of Saul by King David when there was a famine.

The execution of Richard le Scrope, archbishop of York, is an interesting case. Four persons were involved in the same accusation and suffered death, 'Bisshop Scrop and Mombrey t'Erle Marchal, beheded, and ij. yemen of the Kingis chambre hanged'.[2] The archbishop was executed at the personal command of Henry IV. 'Then when ye bysshop came vnto his place of execucion, he prayed the bowcher to gyue to hȳ .v. strokes in the worshyp of Christes fyve woundes; and for more penaunce; at eueryche of whiche .v. strokes, kynge Henry beyng in his lodgyng, had a stroke in his necke; in so moche, that he demyd that some persone there beyng with hym present, had stryken hym. And forthwith he was stryken with y^e^ plage of lepyr, so that when he knewe it was the hande of God, & repented hym of that hasty lugement, without auctoryte of the Churche. And soon after God shewyd many myracles for the sayde bysshop

[1] Fabyan, p. 568.
[2] Arnold, p. xxx.

whiche called the kynge vnto the more repentaunce.'[1] In this instance of the Substitute Victim, it is obvious that the hurried execution took place when the king's health showed that he had contracted some dire and incurable disease of which he had probably just become aware. If then the disease was the real cause of the hurried command and rigorous execution instead of the execution being the cause of the disease, the whole account can be paralleled in other countries where a sacrifice could be made for the recovery of the king's health. Even as late as Henry VIII (see p. 154) a victim died, though ineffectually, to preserve the king in health.

Under Henry V the conspiracy of the earl of Cambridge and Sir Thomas Grey to put the earl of March on the throne gave the king the opportunity, when he reached the age of twenty-eight, of obtaining a substitute. This was Lord Scrope, who conformed in all respects to the qualifications of a victim, he had been Henry's chief adviser, and there was no proof that he had conspired against his sovereign. He was accused with the two others at what was the equivalent of a drum-head court-martial, condemned, and executed in the presence of the whole army on August 5th. But whereas the earl of Cambridge and Sir Thomas Grey were allowed the honourable death by beheading without quartering, Scrope was hanged, drawn and quartered; and as quartering involved the distribution of the limbs to various parts of the kingdom he again fulfilled the ritual of the sacrifice. Henry had already information of the plot, but waited till the last moment before leaving England for his wars in France, so that there was no time for a real investigation into the complicity of Scrope; and the delay brought the date of execution into a sacrificial month. The execution of Scrope was inexplicable to the contemporary historians, but Henry's dazzling victories so blinded the eyes of all the chroniclers that the fate of Scrope roused only a passing interest or, as Henry was endowed with a gift of fiery words, with hatred for a supposed traitor to a noble and beneficent king. In Goodwin's quaint words, "Twas admired that the Lord *Scroop* should engage in such a horrid Design against one who was not his Prince only, but his Benefactor, to whom he

[1] Fabyan, p. 572.

owed all his Fortune; for the King had oblig'd him by most particular Favours, and in all Affairs of Importance was intirely sway'd by his Counsels.'[1]

Goodwin's description of the court martial is also interesting. Henry had gone to Southampton where his troops were assembled, and was on the eve of crossing to France. He called together the members of his Council and the officers of the army, and told them of the plot and of his personal danger. The men, whom he knew to be the conspirators, were among the members of the assembly, so also was Lord Scrope. Henry then addressed the meeting. "If", said he, "this Information may prove true, what punishment will you judge the Traitors to deserve?" After the greater part had given their Opinions, that a Crime of that nature was worthy of Death, he ask'd the Conspirators what they thought, who all avow'd that the Traitors merited to expire in such horrid torments as might make 'em examples to deter others from the like Crimes. When they had thus condemn'd themselves the King commanded 'em to be seiz'd, and being brought to a Trial, before their Peers, upon examination they confess'd the Conspiracy, that having receiv'd a great Sum of Mony from the *French* King, they had design'd either to deliver their own a Prisoner into the Enemys Power, or to kill him before he arriv'd in *Normandy*.' [Henry then made an impassioned speech.] '"Have I wrong'd any of you? What affront or indignity has mov'd you to desires of Revenge?" ' The speech was calculated to work upon the feelings of the judge, and had its effect and the three men were condemned. 'Then the Criminals were led out to Execution, which was done in sight of the whole Army. The Earl of *Cambridg* had wrote a very submissive Letter to the King, in which with sorrow he acknowledged his Crime' [and offered to inculpate others]. 'As he made this free and open acknowledgment, so he implor'd the King's Mercy, but his Crime was of too high a nature to be forgiven. He and Sir *Thomas Grey* were beheaded, but the Lord Scroop was hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd; for the King, detesting his Ingratitude, would not excuse him from the ignominy of such a death. The Earl's Head was bury'd with his Body, but the other

[1] Goodwin, *King Henry the Fifth*, p. 64.

Heads were set up, one at *York*, the other at *Newcastle upon Tine*.'[1]

The comments of a modern historian are of interest: 'To satisfy the forms of the constitution Henry issued a commission to the Duke of Clarence, ordering him to summon a jury of Peers to consider the process and record of the common jury, to pass sentence on Cambridge and Scrope in accordance therewith, the King confirming their sentence by anticipation. As no other evidence was to be adduced, this was a mere direction to the Peers to condemn the two. The Peers did as they were directed, and condemned them to death. On the same day both were executed outside the north gate of Southampton.'[2]

Henry VI's reign was not only a long one but is complicated by the fact that he himself was the Sacrifice in the end. He was less than a year old when he came to the throne, and as he reigned more than forty-eight years it is to be expected that towards the end of his life the number of substitutes would be great.

Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, fulfils many of the qualifications of the Divine Substitute. He was appointed Protector in 1422; in other words he acted as king for seven years, wielding the royal power while the king was entirely in the background. His mysterious death on 23rd February 1447, has never been explained. Henry was then twenty-five, but so weak was his understanding that he may well have been a party to a ritual murder without realizing the fact. The chroniclers blame the duke of Suffolk as the instigator of the crime. 'A parliament was sommoned in the kinges name to be holden at thabbey of Bury, whither at the day appoynted repaired the noble men, and among them the duke of Glocester, who was taken sodenly the night following and stranguled, the woorst example that ever was hearde of; all his retinew were committed immediatly; but after he was killed, never one of them suffered, onely divers of them, to aggravate their reproche, were brought to the place of execution, and straite waye pardoned.'[3] An anonymous author is more

[1] Goodwin, pp. 65, 66.
[2] Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, i, p. 198.
[3] Polydore Vergil, *English Historie*, p. 72.

outspoken: 'In the moneth of Feuerer, the .x. daye thereof, began the parlement of saint Edmundis Bury in Suffolk; the whiche parlement was maad only for to sle the noble duke of Gloucestre, whose deth the fals duke of Suffolk William de la Pole, and ser James Fynes lord Say, and other of thair assent, hadde longe tyme conspired and ymagined.'[1]

Another mysterious death which took place in the same year and in consequence of the murder of Gloucester, was the killing of the duke of Suffolk. The death of Gloucester raised such indignation that the king was forced to banish Suffolk. It is, however, noticeable that the usual accusations of wasting public money, of not paying the army, and of evil counsel to the king, were brought against him, so that there was a semblance of legality in his sentence. But it is clear that the people expected the death sentence, for the duke did not attempt to leave the country openly, but disguised himself and left secretly in a small boat. He was intercepted by a large vessel, the *St. Nicholas of the Tower*; the sailors gave him twenty-four hours to 'make his peace with God', then executed him by beheading over the side of the ship. This was not a piece of private revenge, nor was Suffolk so much worse than other favourites of royalty that the people should rise against him, and it is hardly likely that the sailors were actuated merely by love of the murdered duke of Gloucester; there was evidently some strong underlying feeling which drove them to so strange an action. It was in East Anglia that the Old Religion, with all its beliefs and ritual, survived in force long after it had become obsolescent in other parts of England. I suggest, therefore, that the death of the duke of Suffolk was a sacrifice performed by the people, not necessarily because he was guilty of a crime but because the king, the life-giver on whom the prosperity of the whole realm depended, had reached the age of twenty-eight, a multiple of seven. The killing took place on May 1st, not only a sacrificial month but the primitive sacrificial day. The Christian recorders did not understand the matter, and therefore could only record facts without explaining the reason.

'All generally detested and cursed above measure William, duke of Suffolke as thutter confusion and destruction of his

[1] *An English Chronicle*, p. 62.

VII. Perkin Warbeck. 16th century copy of a lost original

VIII. Queen Anne Boleyn

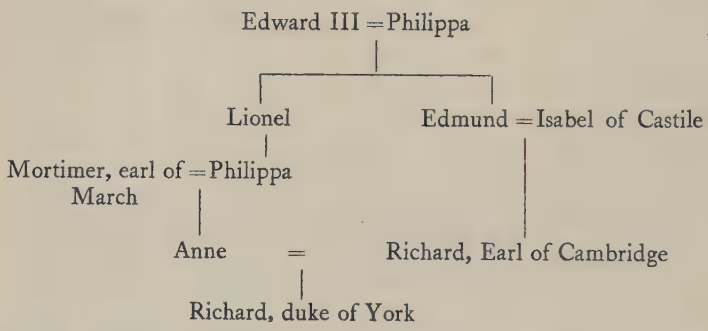
countrey, that he had lavished out the common treasure, that he had not geven paye to the souldier, that he had not caused supplye to be sent to tharmye, that he had made the court voyde of good councellours, whereby he might rule all as himselfe list. By meane of these rumours it came to passe that the commonaltie in great furye accused duke William and all his fautours for the death of the duke of Glocester, and for robbing of the common treasurie, and openly required that he might be punished; which, when the queene did see, fearing sedition, she dealt with the king, that, for pacifying of the multitude, the duke might be committed, which was done accordingly. But within fewe dayes after, the queene, supposing that the common people were satisfied with such kinde of ignominie as the duke was then put unto, commaunded him to be delivered out of warde, and placed in as high favor with the king as ever he was before; whereat the commonaltie in a rage begann to exclame more then at the first, saying that it was a wickedness intollerable to suffer a man convict of so many mischefes to remaine in the court, or to be had in any reputation, which, after the king hearde, then finally perceiving it was no boote further to dissemble the matter, he first punished the fautours and adherentes to the saide duke, then he commaunded the duke to goe in exile, upon such intent that when the rage of the commonaltie should be appeased he might call him home againe, because the queene could not well spare him out of her sight; but the ungratious man, that so well deserved death, could be saved by no meane; for when he tooke shipping, and directed his course into Fraunce, he was sodenly taken and killed of his enemies.'[1]

There is also another account of the capture and execution of the duke. 'The duke of Suffolk had axed befor this tyme [i.e. Cade's rebellion] of on that was an astronomer, what sholde falle of him, and how he sholde ende his lif; and whanne the said astronomer hadd labourid therfore in his said craft, he ansuerde to the duke and said that he sholde die a shameful deth, and counselid him alway to be war of the tour; wherfor be instaunce of lordis that were his frendis, he was sone delyuered out of the said tour of Londoun.' To save

[1] Polydore Vergil, (Camden Society) pp. 82, 83.

him from the hatred of the people the king exiled him for a year. 'The Friday the iij. day of May, he took his shippe at Episwich and sailed forth in to the high sea, where anothir shippe called the Nicholas of the Tour lay in waite for him, and took him. And they that were wythynne grauntid him space of a day and a nyghte to shryue him, and make him redy to God. And thanne a knaue of Yrlond smot of his hed, vpon the side of the boot of the said Nicholas of the Tour.'[1]

Henry's career, during and after the Wars of the Roses, is so confused that it is difficult to ascertain whether he was regarded as king all the time, and if not, whether the intervals when Edward was supreme are to be counted to Henry or to Edward. But though the actual date is not in accordance with the exact pattern of the Substitute Victim, the other features of the custom point to Richard, duke of York, as being the substitute for Henry. The genealogy of Richard shows that he was of royal blood on both sides:




In fact his title to the throne was better than that of Henry himself, whose ancestor was John of Gaunt, a younger brother of Lionel. Henry's mental condition was such that on 8th November 1460, the duke of York was proclaimed Protector, and for some unexplained reason, for Henry's son was still alive, was made the heir apparent. He was killed at the battle of Wakefield on December 30th of the same year; the dead body was decapitated, and the head exposed on the battlements of York crowned with a paper crown. His rank, royal descent, the beheading to ensure the spilling of the

[1] *An English Chronicle*, p. 69.

blood, the crowning,[1] and the sending of the head to his own city, all point to his having been a Substitute Victim. Though the date does not fit for Henry's age or reign, it is worth noting that Edward, prince of Wales, was then seven years of age.

In the reign of Edward IV the man who is clearly the Substitute Victim was the Duke of Clarence, the king's own brother. It is doubtful whether the prophecy that Edward would be succeeded by a man whose name began with a G had any real effect on the king, for there is always the possibility that the prophecy was discovered only when it could be used to blacken the character of the dead Richard III. Clarence had all the qualities necessary for the Divine Substitute. He was of royal blood, closely related to the reigning monarch, and by his character and actions laid himself open to sufficiently strong suspicion of treason towards the Lord's Anointed as to justify a capital sentence after trial, or to arrest and secret (ritual) murder.

The Continuator of Ingulph gives a clear account of the whole proceedings. When Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, 'whose affections were fixed on her brother Clarence beyond any of the rest of her kindred',[2] tried to arrange a marriage between Clarence and the heiress of Burgundy, Edward 'threw all possible impediments in the way', and succeeded in preventing the marriage, to the furious indignation of the would-be bridegroom. It was not long after that the final scene was enacted: 'One Master John Stacy, a person who was called an astronomer, when in reality he was rather a great sorcerer, formed a plot in conjunction with one Burdet, an esquire, and one of the said duke's [Clarence's] household; upon which, he was accused, among numerous other charges, of having made leaden images and other things to procure thereby the death of Richard, lord Beauchamp, at the request of his adulterous wife. Upon being questioned

[1] Stow (p. 143) says that after the execution a paper crown was put on the head before it was presented to the queen, but Whethamstede says that when Richard was captured at the battle of Wakefield, he was set on an ant-hill with a crown of woven grass on his head, and the Lancastrian soldiers bowed before him, saying, *Hail, King without a kingdom.*

[2] Ingulph's *Chronicle*, p. 478.

in a very severe examination [torture] as to his practice of damnable arts of this nature, he made confession of many matters, which told both against himself and the said Thomas Burdet. The consequence was that Thomas was arrested as well; and at last judgment of death was pronounced upon them both, at Westminster, from the Bench of our lord the king, the judges being there seated, together with nearly all the lords temporal of the kingdom. Being drawn to the gallows at Tyburn, they were permitted briefly to say what they thought fit before being put to death; upon which they protested their innocence, Stacy indeed but faintly, while on the other hand Burdet spoke at great length and with much spirit, and, as his last words, exclaimed, "Behold! I must die; whereas I never did such things as these."

'On the following day the duke of Clarence came to the council-chamber at Westminster, bringing with him a famous Doctor of the order of Minorites, Master William Goddard by name, in order that he might read the confession and declaration of innocence above-mentioned before the Lords in the said council assembled; which he accordingly did, and then withdrew. The king was then at Windsor, but when he was informed of this circumstance, he was greatly displeased thereat, and recalling to mind the information formerly laid against his brother, and which he had long kept treasured up in his heart, he summoned the duke to appear on a certain day in the royal palace of Westminster: upon which, in the presence of the Mayor and aldermen of the city of London, the king began, with his own lips, amongst other matters, to inveigh against the conduct of the before-mentioned duke, as being derogatory to the laws of the realm, and most dangerous to judges and jurors throughout the kingdom. But why enlarge? The duke was placed in custody, and from that day up to the time of his death never was known to have regained his liberty.

'The circumstances that happened in the ensuing Parliament my mind quite shudders to enlarge upon, for then was to be witnessed a sad strife carried on before these two brethren of such high estate. For not a single person uttered a word against the duke, except the king; not one individual made answer to the king, except the duke. Some parties were

introduced, however, as to whom it was greatly doubted by many, whether they filled the office of accusers rather, or of witnesses: these two offices not being exactly suited to the same person in the same cause. The duke met all the charges against him with a denial, and offered, if he could only obtain a hearing, to defend his cause with his own hand. But why delay in using many words? Parliament, being of opinion that the informations which they had heard were established, passed sentence upon him of condemnation, the same being pronounced by the mouth of Henry, duke of Buckingham, who was appointed Seneschal of England for the occasion. After this, execution was delayed for a considerable time; until the Speaker of the Commons, coming to the upper house with his fellows, made a fresh request that the matter might be brought to a conclusion. In consequence of this, in a few days after, the execution, whatever its nature may have been, took place, (and would that it had ended these troubles) in the Tower of London, it being the year of our Lord 1478, and the eighteenth of the reign of king Edward.'[1]

The date of Clarence's death was February 18th—a sacrificial month, Edward's age being thirty-five. As Edward died nineteen days before his forty-first birthday no other Substitute Victim was needed after the death of Clarence.

[1] Ingulph's *Chronicle*, pp. 478–80. Whether the story of the drowning in a butt of malmsey is true is quite uncertain, for the murder was in secret. Popular stories usually tend to the fantastic or the gruesome as in the case of Edward II as well as Clarence. If the butt of malmsey were really used, it was probably as a rough and ready means of preserving the corpse till the time for burial. For the Bill of Attainder of the Duke of Clarence, see *Rot. Parl.*, vi, pp. 193–5.

Chapter Five

# THE SUBSTITUTE VICTIM

## Tudor and Stuart

*I will give men for thee and people for thy life.*
Isaiah xliii. 4

The Tudor period is well documented and therefore it is less difficult to differentiate between the political victims put to death for political reasons at the beginning of a reign and the Substitute Victims sacrificed for the life of the king. Like all usurpers, or kings whose title to the crown is somewhat dubious, the Tudors had no mercy on those who plotted against them, and shed the blood of their opponents ruthlessly. Henry VII consolidated his precarious position by marriage with Elizabeth of York, whose younger brothers had been declared illegitimate though paradoxically she herself was not. By marrying her he acknowledged their legitimacy, and had they lived they had a better claim to the throne than himself. It was therefore to his advantage that they should be dead, for there were no other claimants with so strong a title. It is not impossible also, considering the character of Edward IV and his brother the duke of Clarence, that the various 'imposters' might well have been the illegitimate sons of one of the brothers.

Henry VIII's long reign gave many opportunities for victims both for his age and his reign. In the analysis of some of the otherwise inexplicable executions that took place it will be seen that the sufferers conformed to the pattern of the Substitute Victim; they were royal, or connected with royalty by marriage; the sentence of death was given on a trumped-up charge; they denied the charge entirely, though acknowledging that they were sinners; the date is in one of the sacrificial months; and the year is a multiple of seven of

the king's age or reign. Elizabeth's reign, which was even longer than her father's, shows the same phenomena.

The mysterious deaths of the princes in the Tower have been usually ascribed to Richard III, though there is evidence to show that the accusation was a form of anti-Plantagenet propaganda by the Tudor faction. It was Henry's policy to throw as much discredit on his immediate predecessor as possible, but if the boys were alive as late as September 1485, then Henry himself must have been responsible for the murder and not Richard. And in this connection it must be remembered that in 1485 Henry had reached the age of twenty-eight. Whether the younger boy, Richard, duke of York, really did escape is hardly likely though many of his contemporaries believed that he did, and Perkin Warbeck certainly succeeded for a time in imposing that belief on several of the sovereigns of Europe, and he even married a near relative of James IV, King of Scotland, on the strength of that belief. Ralph Walford was another impersonator of a royal Plantagenet with a claim to the throne. Henry reached the age of forty-two on 28th January 1499; on February 12th, Walford was put to death. In the same year on August 22nd, he had reigned fourteen years. He then had two victims, Warbeck on November 23rd and the earl of Warwick on November 28th. All three men had been acknowledged to be of royal blood, being, according to their supporters, the brothers or cousins of Henry's own queen, and therefore with a right to the throne.

The whole incident of Perkin Warbeck has always been one of the historical mysteries. In his so-called 'confession' he said that he was the son of Flemish parents of a humble station in life, that he had travelled in many parts of Europe in various capacities, and in short, was a mere adventurer. But whatever may have been his previous history, he suddenly appeared in Ireland in 1491 claiming to be that young duke of York, son of Edward IV who was said to have been murdered in the Tower. In the following year, Charles VIII of France, being then at war with Henry VII, received Perkin with all the honour due to a royal personage. But when peace was arranged between England and France Charles politely dismissed Perkin, who betook himself to Margaret,

duchess of Burgundy, the sister of Edward IV. Margaret recognized him as her nephew, and treated him as the rightful heir of Edward IV. 'The Duchess therefore (as in a case of doubt) did him all Princely honour, calling him always by the name of her *Nephew*, and giving him the *Delicate Title* of the *White-Rose of England*; and appointed him a *Guard* of thirty persons, *Halberdiers*, clad in party-coloured *Livery* of *Murrey and Blew*, to attend his Person.'[1]

It was not only the duchess who acknowledged his claim, but a great part of the English were of the same opinion. 'Sir Thomas *Moore* after Doctor *Morton*, thus writeth, The man commonly called *Perkin Warbeck*, was as well with the Prince, as with the people, held to be the younger Sonne of King *Edward* the Fourth. Richard *Grafton* affirmeth the same, in Flanders (saith he) and most of all here in England, it was received for an undoubted truth, not onely of the people but of the Nobles, that *Perkin* was the Sonne of King *Edward* the Fourth. And they all swore and affirmed this to be true.'[2] At the same time, probably by means of the duchess of Burgundy, he was recognized as king of England by Maximilian, king of the Romans.

It is clear that Henry was well aware of the danger of a military attempt on the part of Perkin, for in 1494 he suddenly arrested certain conspirators. It is here that the importance of the underlying Dianic Cult first becomes visible in the history of Perkin. The number of persons whom Henry 'caused to be apprehended (almost at an instant)'[3] on this occasion was thirteen or one coven (p. 261). In spite of this setback Perkin, in the next year (1495), attempted an invasion on the coast of Kent. This was a dismal failure, and again the number of persons captured and executed shows the coven formation (see p. 261). Frustrated in this attempt Perkin betook himself to Scotland where he was well received by James IV and was given the king's cousin in marriage.

Probably urged on by James, Perkin ventured to attack England on the west, going first to Ireland to obtain help

[1] Bacon, *Henry VII*, p. 69.
[2] Sir George Buck, *Richard the Third*, book iii, p. 101.
[3] Bacon, *Henry VII*, p. 75.

from his former friends. How far the attitude of the Scotch and the original attitude of the Irish were dictated by animosity against Henry and how far by an honest belief in Perkin's claim, is difficult to assess at this distance of time. But Perkin and his friends, both Scottish and Irish, were confronted with that master of propaganda, Henry VII, who knew how to use every fact, no matter how unpromising, to the advantage of the Tudors. No other king in our history surpassed Henry in the brilliance of his dissimulation, and his kingcraft left even James I far behind. He never for one moment acknowledged Warbeck's claim to be in any way connected with the Plantagenets, and always wrote and spoke of him as Perkin Warbeck; and even while Perkin was at the court of the Scotch king, Henry had already arranged the confession which Perkin was to acknowledge if, and when, he should be captured. Henry had his informants at the Scottish court, and two letters from Lord Bothwell to him show how well he was kept informed of all that he needed to know.

Bothwell's letters were sent off in September 1496. (The spelling is modernized.) 'Sir, I understand, the xxviii day of August, there came a man out of Carlisle to Perkin, and after Perkin brought him to the King. I remained to understand the matter. I was informed secretly that this man should have come from Randell of Dacre, brother to the Lord Dacre, and from the Skeltons, for Michael Skelton that is here had the conveyance of him. Sir, undoubtedly these Northumberland men commune shrewdly at days of meeting and at days secretly appointed betwixt them and Scotsmen, and every day through them their vagabonds escape, coming to Perkin, and sundry writings come; and now newly one Hatfeld that were wont to dwell with my lord of Oxenford and he tells many tidings.' Bothwell then urges Henry to send 'but a dozen Chieftains and men of authority' to prevent the king of Scots from invading England.[1]

The second letter shows that the danger of invasion was increasing. 'All this long time I have remained within the realm of Scotland, and most in the court about the King, giving attendance and making labours to do your Grace the

[1] Ellis, *Letters* (1st series), i, p. 24, no. xii.



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best service I can, and has full oft times solicit the King's Highness and all your well advised lords of his Realm to leave the favour and support they give to this feigned boy, and stand in amity and good love and peace with your highness, to the which the King in his answers and words says always he will first, so he might have such things concluded as my lord of Durham came for, if yet be not. I understand without doubt this instant xv day of September the King with all the whole people of his realm he can make, will be at Ellam Kirk within x miles of England, and Perkin and his company with him; the which are now in number xiiijc [1400] of all manner of nations, and without question has now concluded to enter within your Realm this xvij day of ye same month in the quarrel of this said feigned boy. Sir the second day of September the king sent for his lords and caused them to pass to the chamber of council, and there after called Perkin to them, and they laid many desires to him both anent the restorations of the Sheriffdoms, the delivery of the castle and town of Berwick, and also for the listing of the King's army and for charges made upon him and his company to bind him to pay 100,000 marks within 5 years.... Also I passed to Saint Andrews with the King and there saw the receiving of the lord Conquersalt. . . . I have sought out the said lord Conquersalt, and understand verily, he has laid to the king to have this said Perkin sent in to France.'[1]

Henry VII never made the mistake of underestimating an enemy, and he made ready in case Perkin should succeed in obtaining a sufficient army to attack England while the Scotch king invaded from the north. His letters to Sir Gilbert Talbot[2] are probably only examples of the kind of summons sent to other important persons in the parts open to attack from the sea. The attack was made from the west, Perkin being joined by the Cornishmen in sufficient numbers for his army to reach Exeter. There they met with a check, and removed to Taunton, where Perkin soon saw the utter incapacity of his ill-armed, untrained troops to withstand the

[1] Ellis, *Letters* (1st series), i, pp. 25–7, no. xiii. For Conquersalt's visit, see Hall, p. 463, and Stow, *Annals*, p. 470.

[2] See Appendix 5a, p. 228–9.

forces which Henry was sending against him. He fled secretly at night, abandoning his army, and took sanctuary at Beaulieu. On promise of his life he surrendered and was carried as a prisoner to London, where he was paraded through the streets, for Henry knew full well that the best way to crush such offenders was to expose them to ridicule. He was then 'brought to the King's court but not to the King's presence. He was in shew at libertie, but guarded with all care and watch that was possible. . . . It was not long, but *Perkin* (who was made of *Quick-silver* which is hard to hold or imprison) began to stir.'[1] He succeeded in escaping, but pursuit was so hot that he took sanctuary in the Priory of Sheen. Again on promise of life he surrendered. He was set in the stocks and forced to read his 'confession', and then sent to the Tower. 'It was believed generally that *Perkin* was betrayed, and that this Escape was not without the King's priuity, who had him all the time of his Flight in a Line, and that the King did this, to pick a Quarrell to him to put him to death, and to be rid of him. . . . But it was ordained that this *Winding-Ivy* of a *Plantagenet* should kill the true *Tree* itself.'[2]

While in the Tower Perkin managed to get in touch with the earl of Warwick, the son of the duke of Clarence, then prisoner in the Tower, and arranged to escape with him by suborning the guards. 'But this *Conspiracie* was revealed in time, before it could be executed. And in this again the Opinion of the King's great *Wisdom* did surcharge him with a sinister *Fame*, that *Perkin* was but his *Bait*, to entrap the Earl of *Warwick*. And in the very instant while this *Conspiracy* was in working (as if that also had been the King's industry) it was fatal, that there should break forth a counterfeit Earl of *Warwick*, a *Cordwainer's* Son, whose name was *Ralph Wilford*, a young man, taught and set on by an *Augustine* Friar called *Patrick*. They were both presently apprehended, and the young fellow executed, and the Friar condemned to perpetual *Imprisonment*. This also happening so opportunely, to represent the danger to the King's Estate from the Earl of *Warwick*, and thereby to colour the King's

[1] Bacon, *Henry VII*, pp. 105, 109.
[2] Ibid., p. 110.

severity that followed, together with the madness of the Friar, so vainly and so desperately to divulge a *Treason*, before he had gotten any manner of strength; and the saving of the Friar's life, which nevertheless was (indeed) but the privilege of his *Order*, and the *Pity* in common People made it generally rather talked, than believed, that all was but the King's device.'[1]

The fate of both Perkin and the earl of Warwick was sealed by the failure of the attempt at escape. 'Sir, so yt was that Perkin Warbek and other iij men were arreyned, on satterday next before the making herof, in the Whithall of Westmynster for their offences, afore Sir John Sygly, Knight marshall, and Sir John Trobilfeild; and there they all were attended [attainted], and judgment given that they shold be drawn on hirdills from the Tower, throwout London, to the Tyburne, and ther to be hanged, and cutt down quicke, and ther bowells to be taken out and burned; ther heads to be stricke of, and quartered, ther heads and quarters to be disposed at the Kyngs pleasure. And on munday next after, at the Gildhalle in London wher the Judges, and many other knyghts, commyssioners to inquer and determayn all offences and trespasses; and theder from the Tower was brought viij prisoners, which were indited, and parte of theme confessed themselfe gyltie, and other parte were arreyned: and as yet they be not juged. I thinke the shall have Judgement this next fryday. Sir, this present day [Thursday, 21st Nov. 1499] was new barrasses made in Westmynster hall, and thether was brought Therle of Warwek, and arrened afore Therle of Oxford, being the Kings grace commyssioner, and afore other Lords (by cause he is a pere of the Realme). And ther Therle of Warwek confessed thenditments that were layd to his charge, and like Judgment was given of him, as is afore rehearsed. When thes persones shalbe put in execucion I intend to show to your mastership right shortly. From Lyncolns Inne at London, this xxi day of November. John Pullan.'[2]

The sentences were duly carried out. Perkin was hanged, drawn and quartered, being forced to read his 'confession' on

[1] Bacon, *Henry VII*, pp. 110, 111. Spelling modernized.
[2] *Plumpton Correspondence*, Letter cx, p. 141.

the scaffold. The earl of Warwick was beheaded on Tower Hill.

It is possible that Perkin was one of the Substitute Victims; but, as Bacon says, 'the King's manner of shewing things, by Pieces and by *Dark Lights*, hath so muffled it, that it hath left it almost as a *Mystery* to this day'.[1] The main part of the 'confession' was probably true, with the exception of the name of his father. Perkin may have been the base-born son of Edward IV by the Flemish woman who afterwards married Osbeck.[2] It would only require a very slight divergence from the truth to make the 'confession' an accurate history of Perkin's life. Only the name of the father needed to be altered. The 'confession' must necessarily be suspect, for it was extorted under torture, and also there is no record from any bystander who heard it read.

In considering the whole episode, Henry's character and conduct must be taken into account. His title to the throne was of the weakest, for he had no real hereditary right, he held it only by right of marriage with Elizabeth of York. As long as the Earl of Warwick, who was the son of the duke of Clarence, was alive there was always danger of a successful conspiracy to set him on the throne and to drive Henry out. Warwick was the real peril, and the astute Henry saw in Perkin Warbeck the heaven-sent method by which he could get rid of so dangerous a rival. Hence he used every means to get Perkin into his clutches, even going so far as to offer a reward of a thousand marks for his capture.[3] The parsimonious Henry was not likely to part with so large a sum except for some unusually important purpose. Henry's cat-and-mouse treatment of Perkin was also peculiar and can only be explained by his having some ulterior object in mind. And

[1] Bacon, *Henry VII*, p. 63.

[2] An interesting sidelight on the methods used is given in a letter from King Ferdinand of Spain to Henry VII: 'If it be of any use to the King, *we* could manage to send him his [Warbeck's] father and mother, who, they tell us, are in Portugal and are our subjects.' *Cal. St. Pap.*

[3] King's letter to the Bishop of Bath and Wells. 'We have proclaimed also that whoso bringeth the said Perkin alive unto us he shall have the sum of a thousand marks, and all their offences forgiven, first and last.' He adds grimly, 'We trust soon to hear good tidings of the said Perkin'. Halliwell, *Letters*, i, p. 184.

that object was, as Bacon puts it, 'his bait to entrap the Earl of Warwick'. Perkin was discredited, Ralph Walford's conspiracy was too contemptible to be any real danger, it was Warwick's death that was the true object.

The death of the earl of Warwick was not only due to a political motive, underlying it was the necessity for the sacrifice of a Substitute Victim. The careful manner in which the plot was carried out, by arranging Perkin's first and second escapes, so that he could be easily caught; the first being used as an excuse to send him to the Tower, the second to involve the real victim; all this shows a master of dissimulation at work. But it is also important to notice that the second escape was so engineered that the trials and executions should fall in a sacrificial month, Perkin being executed on November 23rd, Warwick on the 24th. It should also be noted that in this year, 1499, Henry was forty-two, and had reigned fourteen years; both dates being multiples of seven, and therefore perhaps requiring two victims; both of royal blood, the one legitimate, the other possibly illegitimate, but royal all the same.

Warwick's qualifications as the Substitute Victim are very clear; he was of royal blood, he was in the prime of manhood, his age was twenty-four, the king's age and length of reign were both multiples of seven, he died by bloodshed in a sacrificial month. But even Henry's policy of 'muffling' his actions cannot conceal that in this case he was acting according to the beliefs and ritual of the Old Religion.

Henry VIII's marital career has always engaged the attention of all writers and readers of English history. It is obvious that he was not such a monster of wickedness as is often supposed; Roman Catholic propaganda against the enemy of the pope is largely responsible for the current adverse opinion. But the contemporary feeling of his own people towards him was very different. His subjects showed a truly sympathetic attitude towards him in his private troubles, and he was beloved to so marked an extent that the Venetian ambassador reported in 1500 to his government, 'Love for the king is universal in all who see him, for his Highness does not seem a person of this world, but one descended from heaven.'[1]

[1] *Ven. Cal.*, ii, p. 336.

The reasons given for ending four out of the six marriages indicate that there was some peculiar condition which is not immediately apparent. Catherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, Anne of Cleves, and Katherine Howard, were all divorced ostensibly on the ground of a previous marriage or contract of marriage. Though this might have been the true reason for the divorce of Catherine of Aragon, it does not hold good in the case of the three other ladies. It is impossible to believe that their past lives had not been fully investigated, every detail of their characters as well as of their lives must have been scrutinized. Henry was still a boy in his teens when he married Catherine of Aragon, who was six years older than himself; but he was a middle-aged man, over forty, when he married Anne Boleyn. Had Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard been the wantons that their accusations and sentences would suggest, their characters must have been already well known in court circles, where scandalmongers were frequent. Yet Anne's character was never assailed till the final scenes, but her position as the willing Substitute Victim seems to cover and explain the facts of her career.

When Henry was thirty-four and Catherine of Aragon forty, it was unlikely that they would have any more children. She had already borne four and had had three miscarriages. Of those four, the eldest was a boy who lived only a few weeks; the second, also a boy, died at birth; the third, also a boy, was stillborn; the fourth child was a daughter who survived both her parents and became queen. The political situation demanded a settled succession through a male heir. Henry's own words show that he thought God was pointing the way to a dissolution of the marriage, 'All the issue male as I have had from the queen died incontinent after they were born, so that I doubt the punishment of God in that behalf.'[1]

Froude has shown the extreme political necessity recognized by Henry and his advisers for an undisputed succession, which could only be effected by the existence of a male heir to the king. But Henry was also at an age when several of his predecessors had required and obtained a Substitute Victim. At the same time he was the Christus Domini, and

[1] Cavendish, i, p. 155.

therefore stood in the place of Christ towards the Church in particular and the kingdom in general; he was the Supreme Head in both his religious and secular aspects. If he honestly believed that his failure to obtain male offspring was due to the failing of the Divine Spirit of Fertility within him, he would consider it essential for his own benefit and for the benefit of his people either to die himself or to find someone else to suffer in his stead. And if Catherine of Aragon was not prepared to accept that honour, she had to make room for the person who would die for her God and king. From the account of the last months of queen Catherine's life, it would seem that she went in fear of being made, perhaps by poison, an unwilling and unconscious victim.

Anne Boleyn, however, was entirely different. She was English, and not a foreigner; she came from East Anglia, that part of England in which the Old Religion flourished long after it had disappeared elsewhere. She was a Howard, a family of whom Fénélon, the French ambassador, said, 'they are subject to be beheaded and cannot avoid it, because they come of a race naturally given that way'.[1] This remark, though quaintly expressed, suggests very strongly that in Anne Boleyn, Katherine Howard, the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Surrey, we are dealing with a victim family, like the well-known classical example of king Athamas and his descendants.

The divorce proceedings took seven years to come to an end, by which time Henry was forty-one and Anne was twenty-six. During all that time there was not the breath of a word against her, though she lived at the court as one of the ladies-in-waiting to queen Catherine. The fatal year 1533 when Henry's age was a multiple of seven was successfully passed, for Anne gave birth to a strong and healthy infant, Elizabeth, afterwards queen. But in February 1536, Anne's second child, a boy, was born dead. According to Chapuys the king showed great distress at this event. The significance of this disaster, coming as it did, so soon after the many disappointments during the life of Catherine of Aragon, must have confirmed Henry in his belief that a victim was required.

The events which followed are unusual and peculiar. In

[1] Fénélon. *Corres. Dipl.*

April what can only be called an Inner Circle of the Privy Council began secretly to collect evidence against Anne. This could have been done without the knowledge and connivance of the king, and it is remarkable that Cranmer, though one of the most prominent members of the Council, was never informed of the matter till the arrest of the queen. His position as archbishop of Canterbury would preclude him from taking any part in what he would have regarded as an act of paganism. It is quite unknown who was the original informer against Anne.[1] It is doubtful if there were anyone, for if she were the appointed Substitute Victim it was essential that she should be accused of a capital crime. It is noticeable that though the charge against her included conniving at the king's death, that part of the accusation was never pressed. All the emphasis was laid on her moral character.

In a charge of adultery more than one person must be involved, and to make assurance doubly sure her own brother was accused with four other men, Brereton, Norris, Weston and Mark Smeton. The evidence brought forward was of the flimsiest. Smeton was 'severely examined', which is probably a euphemism for torture, and under promise of life, 'confessed'. Norris, under strong persuasion from Henry himself, and also under promise of life 'confessed', but later withdrew the confession entirely. Weston and Rochford never wavered in declaring themselves innocent. The promises of life were not kept.

The whole course of events is peculiar and suggests that all the information is not forthcoming. On May Day Henry and Anne went to Greenwich for the sports. In the midst of the gaieties, Henry with every sign of disturbance rose up and without a word of explanation went straight back

[1] 'As for evidence of this matter, it was discovered by the Lady Wingfield, who had been a servant to the queen, and becoming on a sudden infirm some time before her death, did swear the matter to one of her . . .' and here unluckily the rest of the page is torn off. By this it seems, there was no legal evidence against the queen, and that it was but a witness at second hand, who deposed what they heard the Lady Wingfield swear. Who this person was, we know not, nor in what temper of mind the lady Wingfield might be, when she swore it. The safest sort of forgery, to one whose conscience can swallow it, is to lay a thing on a dead person's name, where there is no fear of discovery. Burnet, *Hist. of Ref.*, i, p. 316.

to London, taking Norris with him. He never saw Anne again, but on the way to London he held a long and earnest conversation with Norris. Rochford, Weston, Norris and Smeton were arrested that day and sent to the Tower, and Anne herself was taken to the Tower the following day. Writs were suddenly issued for a new Parliament. 'I must draw particular attention to this. Parliament had just been dissolved, and a fresh body of untried men were called together for no other purpose than to take cognizance of the supposed discovery. If the accusations were intentionally forged by the king, to go out of his way to court so needless publicity was an act most strange and most incomprehensible.'[1]

When Kyngston brought Anne to the Tower, she asked if she were to be put in a dungeon. 'No, madam,' he replied, 'you shall go into your lodging that you had at your coronation.' 'It is too good for me,' she said. When she entered the Tower, she fell on her knees, saying, 'Jesu, have mercy on me,' then laughed. Later on she said to Kyngston, 'Shall I die without justice?' He answered, 'The poorest subject the king hath has justice,' and therewith she laughed.[2]

The commoners were tried first, and as it was a foregone conclusion they were sentenced to death. Smeton was the only one who had 'confessed', and as he was now a condemned traitor he could not be confronted with Anne at her trial. 'It was generally said that he was corrupted into that confession and had his life promised him, but it was not fit to let him live to tell tales. Norris had been much in the king's favour, and an offer was made him of his life, if he would confess his guilt, and accuse the queen. But he generously rejected that unhandsome proposition, and said, "That in his conscience he thought her innocent of those things laid to her charge: but whether she was or not, he would not accuse her of any thing; and he would die a thousand times rather than accuse an innocent person." '[3]

Lord Rochford was tried in the Tower by twenty-six

[1] Froude, *History*, ii, p. 360, n. 1.

[2] Letter of Kyngston, Cavendish, *Wolsey*, ii, p. 217. For Anne in prison, see Appendix 5c, pp. 229–37.

[3] Burnet, *Hist. of Ref.*, i, p. 329.

peers. He defended himself with great skill and spirit against all the charges brought against him. 'He made aunswere so prudentlie and wiselie to all articles layed against him, that marveil it was to heare, and never would confesse anye thinge, but made himselfe as cleare as though he had never offended. Howbeit he was there condemned.'[1] Constantine states that there was heavy betting on the result of the trial. 'There were [those] that sayed that moch money would haue byn layed that daye, and that great oddes, that the Lorde Rochforde shulde haue byn quytte.'[2]

Cranmer was not in London when Anne was arrested, but the king sent for him at once, and he returned horror-stricken. He wrote a letter to Henry in which he expressed his feelings. 'I am in such a perplexity, that my mind is clean amazed; for I never had better opinion in woman, than I had in her; which maketh me to think, that she could not be culpable. And again, I think your highness would not have gone so far, except she had surely been culpable.'[3] He goes on to ask for permission to wish and pray that she may prove herself 'inculpable and innocent', for the royal permission to pray for a traitor was necessary, otherwise the well-wisher might lay himself open to a charge of misprision, or of actual treason.

After her condemnation Cranmer was sent by Henry to visit Anne in prison and to prepare her for death. What Anne said to the archbishop in that interview has never been revealed, but it made such an impression on him that when he presided the next day over the court that pronounced Henry's marriage with Anne to be null and void, he explained to the assembly that she had confessed to him some facts which convinced him that the marriage was no true marriage. This is usually supposed to refer to a previous marriage contracted with some unknown, or at least unacknowledged, man; but as she was clearly of the Old Religion, her confession may have been that she was a member of that religion. To Cranmer she would then be stamped as a

[1] Wriothesley i. p. 39.

[2] *Archaeologia* (1831), xxiii, p. 66. See Appendix 5c, p. 235, for account of the trial of the 'accomplices'.

[3] Burnet, *Hist. of Ref.*, i, book iii, p. 321.

devil-worshipper, and therefore not only unfit to marry the king, but unfit to live. He could, then, have no hesitation in declaring the marriage void.

Burnet calls attention to a curious point in regard to this divorce. Anne was tried and sentenced for adultery, which in a queen was equal to high treason. 'The two sentences that were passed upon the queen, the one of attainder for adultery, the other of divorce, because of a pre-contract did so contradict one another, that it was apparent one, if not both of them, must be unjust; for if the marriage between the king and her was null from the beginning, then, since she was not the king's wedded wife, there could be no adultery; and her marriage to the king was either a true marriage, or not; if it was true, then the annulling of it was unjust; and if it was no true marriage, then the attainder was unjust; for there could be no breach of that faith which was never given; so that it is plain, the king was resolved to be rid of her.'[1]

It would seem that the divorce was required so that Anne should not be executed as queen. The divorce was pronounced on the same day that her brother was executed, and the day before her own death. 'And the same day, in the after-noone, at a solemne court kept at Lambeth by the Lord Archbishoppe of Canterburie and the doctors of the lawe, the King was divorsed from his wife Queene Anne, and there at the same cowrte was a privie contract approved that she had made to the Earle of Northumberlande[2] afore the Kinges tyme; and so she was discharged, and was never lawfull Queene of England, and there it was approved the same.'[3]

It is interesting to compare Cranmer's attitude with that of the two covens of the Privy Council who condemned Anne. Cranmer was the accredited head of the Christian priesthood, and as such he stood for all that the Christianity of the period meant, all its faults and prejudices as well as for all its virtues. The lords by their very number showed that

[1] Burnet, *Hist. of Ref.*, i, p. 326.

[2] The earl denied this statement on oath; and there is no real proof that there ever was a contract of marriage between him and Anne.

[3] Wriothesley, i, p. 40.

she was condemned by the law of the Old Religion and not by the law of Christianity.

Wriothesley, as a herald and son of Garter King-at-Arms, was present at both the trial and the execution, and has left an account of them. 'Item, on Munday the 15th of May, 1536, there was arreigned within the Tower of London Queene Anne, for treason againste the Kinges owne person, and there was a great scaffold made in the Kinges Hall within the Tower of London, and there were made benches and seates for the lordes, my Lord of Northfolke sittinge under the clothe of estate, representinge there the Kinges person as Highe Steward of Englande and uncle to the Queene, he holdinge a longe white staffe in his hande, and the Earle of Surrey, his sonne and heire, sittinge at his feete before him holdinge the golden staffe for the Earle Marshall of Englande, which sayde office the saide duke had in his handes; the Lord Awdley, Chauncellour of England, sittinge on his right hande, and the Duke of Suffolke on his left hande, with other marqueses, earles, and lordes, everie one after their degrees.

'And first the Kinges commission was redd, and then the Constable of the Tower[1] and the Lieutenant[2] brought forthe the Queene to the barre, where was made a chaire for her to sitt downe in, and then her indictment was redd afore her, whereunto she made so wise and discreet aunsweres to all thinges layde against her, excusinge herselfe with her wordes so clearlie, as thoughe she had never bene faultie to the same, and at length putt her to the triall of the Peeres of the Realme, and then were 26 of the greatest peeres there present chosen to passe on her, the Duke of Suffolke beinge highest, and, after they had communed together, the yongest lorde of the saide inquest was called first to give verdict, who sayde guiltie, and so everie lorde and earle after their degrees sayde guiltie to the last and so condemned her. And then the Duke of Northfolke gave this sentence on her, sayinge: Because thou haste offended our Sovereigne the Kinges grace in committinge treason against his person, and here attaynted of the same, the lawe of the realme is this, that thow haste

[1] Sir William Kingston.
[2] Sir Edmond Walsingham.

deserved death, and thy judgment is this: That thou shalt be brent here within the Tower of London on the Greene, els to have thy head smitten of as the Kinges pleasure shal be further knowne of the same; and so she was brought to warde agayne, and two ladies wayted on her, which came in with her at the first, and wayted still on her, whose names were the Ladie Kingstone and the Ladie Boleyn, her aunte.'[1]

This record by an eye-witness shows that the whole trial was a pre-arranged affair like the trial of the earl of Somerset in the reign of James I. The peers, who were to give their verdict, were chosen from those who were already assembled in the court. There is nothing to show by whom they were chosen, but presumably it was by the High Steward of England. In the Somerset trial the High Steward was to be carefully instructed as to the course of the trial and as to how it should end, and in Anne's case there is no reason to suppose that the High Steward under Henry VIII would be less subservient than the High Steward under James I.

Anne's own words as recorded by Strype and Kyngston show clearly that she knew her fate and rejoiced in it. This is not the attitude of a criminal receiving the due punishment for her offence, but rather that of the martyr dying for her God. Her words as recorded by Strype should be compared with those of many other members of the Old Religion who died for their faith (see p. 135).

'The king sending a message to Queen Anne, being prisoner in the Tower, willing her to confess the truth, she said, "she could confess no more than she had already spoken. And she said, she must conceal nothing from the King, to whom she did acknowledge herself so much bound for many favours: for raising her first from a mean woman to a Marquess; next to be his Queen. And now, seeing he could bestow no further honour upon her on earth, for purposing to make her, by martyrdom, a saint in heaven.'[2] Kyngston also records that she said, 'I shall be in heaven.' This certainty of eternal bliss is characteristic of all martyrs of any faith, but is not found among those who die for a crime. A century earlier than Anne, Gilles de Rais assured the two men who were

[1] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, i, pp. 37, 38.
[2] Strype, *Eccl. Mem.*, i, p. 436.

executed with him, that 'as soon as our souls have left our bodies we shall see God in His Glory in Paradise'. Similar sentiments are recorded in many of the trials of 'witches', from the fifteenth century onwards. Another point in which Anne resembled the members of the Old Religion was her joyousness in the face of death. Kyngston, who as Lieutenant of the Tower, had many opportunities of observing her, records how often she laughed and was 'very merry'. In his last report to Thomas Cromwell, he says, 'I have seen many men and also women executed and all they have been in great sorrow, and to my knowledge this lady has much joy and pleasure in death.'[1] These are exactly the sentiments that the Inquisitor de Lancre records of the 'witches' in the Pays de Labourd whom he persecuted to death: 'Se trouue des Sorciers si acharnez a son seruice endiable, qu'il n'y a torture ny supplice qui les estonne, & diriez qu'ils vont au vray martyre & a la mort pour l'amour de luy, aussi gayement que s'ils alloient a vn festin de plaisir & reiouysseance publique.'[2] Still later, the two Northamptonshire 'witches', Elinor Shaw and Mary Phillips, at their execution 'being desired to say their Prayers, they both set up a very loud Laughter, calling for the Devil to come and help them'.[3]

Lord Rochford was executed on May 17th. His sentence had been that he should be 'drawne from the Towre of London thorowe the Cittie of London to the place of execution, called Tyburne, and there to be hanged, being alyve cutt downe, and then his members cutt of and his bowells taken owt of his bodie and brent before him, and then his head cutt of and his bodie to be divided into 4$^{or}$ peeces, and his head and bodie to be sett at suche places as the King should assigne'.[4] The extreme savagery of the sentence, which was the same for all five men, was commuted to beheading only, except in the case of Smeton who was hanged. All suffered on Tower Hill and not at Tyburn. Rochford made a speech from the scaffold in which he made an acknowledgement of general sinfulness, but not of the specific charge for which

[1] *Letters and Papers* (1536), x, p. 381, no. 910.
[2] De Lancre, *Tableau de l'Inconstance des mauvais Anges*, p. 208.
[3] *Witches of Northamptonshire*, p. 8.
[4] Wriothesley, i, p. 39.

he had been sentenced. 'Masters all, I am come hither not to preach and make a sermon, but to die, as the law hath found me, and to the law I submit me, desiring you all, and specially you my masters of the Court, that you will trust on God specially, and not on the vanities of the world, for if I had so done, I think I had been alive as you be now. Also I desire you to help to the setting forth of the true word of God; and whereas I am slandered by it, I have been diligent to read it and set it forth truly; but if I had been as diligent to observe it, and done and lived thereafter as I was to read it and set it forth, I had not come hereto, wherefore I beseech you all to be workers and live thereafter, and not to read it and live not thereafter. As for mine offences, it can not prevail you to hear them that I die here for, but I beseech God that I may be an example to you all, and that all you may be ware by me, and heartily I require you all to pray for me, and to forgive me, if I have offended you, and I forgive you all, and God save the King.'[1]

Anne's execution was also on Tower Hill on 19th May 1536, which was the twenty-eighth year of Henry's reign. Besides the officials and guards of the Tower and the ladies attendant on Anne, there were present the Lord Chancellor of England, the duke of Richmond (Henry's bastard son), the duke of Suffolk, 'with the most of the King's Council, as earls, lords, and nobles of this realm, being present at the same; also the Mayor of London, with the Aldermen and Sheriffs, and certain of the best crafts of London, being there present also.' Wriothesley, who as a herald and son of Garter King at Arms was present, gives an account of the scene and of her last words. As she stood on the scaffold she said, '"Masters, I here humbly submit me to the law as the law hath judged me, and as for mine offences, I here accuse no man, God knoweth them; I remit them to God, beseeching him to have mercy on my soul, and I beseech Jesu save my sovereign and master the King, the most godly, noble, and gentle Prince that is, and long to reign over you"; which words were spoken with a goodly smiling countenance; and this done, she kneeled down on her knees and said, "To Jesu Christ I commend my soul"; and suddenly the hangman

[1] Wriothesley, i, pp. 39–40. Spelling modernized.

smote off her head at a stroke with a sword.'[1] 'Thus died a great and gallant lady.'[2]

Another account by an eyewitness is even more detailed and records the touching words that Anne addressed to her ladies. It was written by a Portuguese gentleman in a letter to a friend in Portugal: 'Having within these few days discoursed largely to your good Lordship, touching the manner in which the Queen of England had been found guilty, and the sort of punishment which the King's Council did doom her to suffer, as also how his said Majesty had willed that the brother of the Queen should be put to death: And having likewise fully discoursed to you concerning that person, who more out of envy and jealousy than out of love towards the King, did betray this accursed secret, and together with it, the names of those who had joined to the evil doings of the unchaste Queen, it now seemeth proper, and, in truth, mine especial duty, to write to you all the circumstances which belonged to that act of cruel justice.' He here describes the execution of the five accused men, and the whole of Rochford's speech beginning, 'O ye gentlemen and Christians, I was born under the law, and I die under the law, forasmuch as it is the law which hath condemned me.' Of the other four men, the writer records that they 'said no more than that they besought the bystanders to pray for them, and they yielded themselves to death with joy and exceeding gladness of heart'. The letter then continues with the account of the execution of Anne. 'On the next Friday which was the 19th of the same month, the Queen was beheaded according to the manner and custom of Paris, that is to say, with a sword, which thing had not before been seen in the land of England. And a scaffold, having four or five steps, was then and there set up. And the unhappy Queen, assisted by the Captain of the Tower, came forth together with four ladies who accompanied her; and she was wholly habited in a robe of black damask, made in such guise that the cape which was white fell on the outer side thereof. And she then besought the Captain of the Tower that he would in no wise hasten the minute of her death, until she should have spoken that which

[1] Wriothesley, i, p. 41.

[2] Heylin, *Hist. of Reformation*, p. 265. See also Appendix 5c, p. 236.

she had in mind to say: which he consenting to, she said as followeth:—"Good friends, I am not come here to excuse or to justify myself, forasmuch as I know full well that aught that I could say in my defence doth not appertain unto you, and that I could draw no hope of life from the same. But I come here only to die, and thus to yield myself humbly to the will of the King my lord. And if in my life I did ever offend the King's Grace, surely with my death I do atone for the same. And I blame not the judges, nor any other manner of person, nor any thing save the cruel law of the land by which I die. But be this, and be my faults, as they may, I beseech you all, good friends, to pray for the life of the King my Sovereign Lord and yours, who is one of the best princes on the face of the earth, and who hath always treated me so well that better could not be; wherefore I submit to death with a good will, humbly asking pardon of all the world." Then, with her own hands, she took her coifs from her head, and delivered them to one of her ladies, and then putting on a little cap of linen to cover her hair withal, she said, "Alas, poor head: in a very brief space thou wilt roll in the dust on this scaffold; and as in life thou didst not merit to wear the crown of a queen, so in death thou deservest not a better doom than this. And ye, my damsels, who, whilst I lived, ever shewed yourselves so diligent in my service, and who are now to be present at my last hour and mortal agony, as in good fortune ye were faithful to me, so even at this my miserable death ye do not forsake me. And as I cannot reward you for your true service to me, I pray you take comfort for my loss; howbeit, forget me not; and be always faithful to the King's Grace; and to her whom with happier fortune ye may have as your Queen and Mistress. And esteem your honour far beyond your life; and in your prayers to the Lord Jesus, forget not to pray for my soul." And being minded to say no more, she knelt down upon both knees, and one of her ladies covered her eyes with a bandage, and then they withdrew themselves some little space, and knelt down over against the scaffold, bewailing bitterly and shedding many tears. And then, without more to say or do, was her head stricken off; she making no confession of her fault, and only saying, "O Lord God, have pity on my soul"; and one of her ladies then

took up the head, and the others the body, and covering them with a sheet, did put them into a chest which there stood ready, and carried them to the church which is within the Tower, where, they say, she lieth buried with the others.'[1]

There is another short account of the final scene. When she came on the scaffold, 'she was stripped of her short mantle furred with ermines, and afterwards took off her hood, which was of English make, herself. A young lady presented her with a linen cap, with which she covered her hair, and she knelt down fastening her clothes about her feet, and one of the said ladies bandaged her eyes.'[2]

The whole of this episode, from the time that Anne Boleyn first emerges from obscurity until her death, shows the overwhelming influence of the Old Religion, which was still strong enough to defeat and overcome all the fanaticism and beliefs of the rival Christian Churches. Anne, as the willing victim, triumphed over the implacably Christian Catherine. Until marriage was possible she held herself aloof from Henry, and in all that court, where the character of every person was liable to smirching, there was no word against her until the strong Catholic party regarded her as the leader of the Reformers. And here it is worth noting that the parts of the country where the Old Religion had the strongest hold and remained active longest, were the places where the Reformation was most enthusiastically welcomed and most fanatically held. Anne came from a family which had been settled for generations in the eastern counties, that part of England which in the following century produced the Ironsides, the backbone of the army which fought against the Romanizing tendency of Laud.

Anne's career bears all the marks of a Substitute Victim. She was not royal, but her marriage with the king gave her royal status, and for a few years she was the power behind the throne, not so openly as Wolsey had been, but as effectually. She belonged to a family which succeeded in combining the Old and the New Religions, and which also provided Substitute Victims if occasion required. She claimed to have

[1] Bentley, *Excerpta*, pp. 261–5.
[2] *Letters and Papers*, x, p. 382, no. 911.

power over the weather, and to bring or withhold rain,[1] and like many another victim she was convinced that on death she would enter at once the realms of eternal bliss, though to the Christian of that period the offence, of which she was found guilty, made her prospects of salvation extremely doubtful. Her death was foretold by Wolsey, Sir Thomas More and by Catherine of Aragon, all three of whom were probably well aware of the tenets of the Dianic Cult.[2] She was tried on a trumped-up charge, so blatantly false that even her bitterest enemy, Chapuys the Spanish ambassador, could write to the emperor, 'only the varlet de chambre [Smeton] confessed . . . the others were condemned *upon presumption and certain indications without valid proof* or confession. . . . To all he [Rochford] replied so well that several of those present wagered 10 to 1 that he would be acquitted, especially as *no witnesses were produced against him or her*, as it is usual to do, particularly when the accused denies the charge.'[3] The peers who sat in judgment on Anne were twenty-six in number, i.e. two covens, a fact which suggests that the whole trial was a ceremony connected with the Old Religion, and had little or nothing to do with either Christianity or the law of England. As a legal trial it was a farce, no real evidence was ever produced, only a so-called confession wrung from Smeton under torture. Her death took place in the sacrificial month of May, and she died by the shedding of blood. Up to the end she received all the respect due to a queen, and she died not only with the dignity expected of her rank and her religion, but with the joyousness of the willing victim.

Henry's conduct during the whole of his married life should be carefully noted, and especially during his connection with Anne Boleyn. It has always been remarked that he did not appear at her coronation. In all the splendour of her dedication she was alone, the glory of that day was hers, and hers alone. Robed and crowned, with her beautiful flowing hair loose over her shoulders, the victim was received by re-

[1] 'She said we should have no rain till she was delivered out of the Tower,' Kingston to Secretary Cromwell. Cavendish, ii, p. 221.

[2] For Catherine's words, see Appendix 5c, p. 236.

[3] *Letters and Papers*, x, pp. 377, 378, no. 908. The italics are mine.

joicing multitudes as she passed through the crowded streets. 'The splendour and magnificence of her Coronation seeming to have no other end, but to make her the moare glorious Sacrifice at the next alteration of the King's Affections.'[1]

That Henry loved her is very certain and is proved by his letters, though his affection for her was not as great as for her cousin Katherine Howard, a few years later. But under that affection was the knowledge that sooner or later she was the substitute who should die for him. When the Privy Council determined that the time had come—which was when her second child was born dead—Henry's manner towards her changed, but it was not till the first day of the sacrificial month of May that she knew the end was at hand. The tragedy began by Henry's abrupt departure from the May Days ports without a word of warning or explanation; he and Anne never met again. Yet, after her arrest, Henry's conduct shows that he still cared, though he was evidently coerced by his own belief in the efficacy of the death of the substitute, a belief clearly shared by the lay members of the Privy Council. As a person accused of high treason, Anne should have occupied a strict prison, and this she expected, for she asked Sir William Kingston, the Lieutenant of the Tower, 'Shall I go in a dungeon?' So far from a dungeon, she was lodged in the royal, and therefore the most comfortable and luxurious, apartments in the building, those which she had occupied at her coronation. This could have been done only at the king's special command. The ladies who attended on her were chosen by the king himself, because he considered them to be 'honest and good women'. Kingston's letters also show that Henry did his utmost to save Anne all unnecessary suffering. As she had to die, all the preparations for death were made easy for her. He sent her old and trusted friend, Cranmer, to be her confessor and to give her spiritual help. Kingston's letter to Cromwell, dated May 16th, three days before the execution, shows that every detail concerning her was submitted to Henry: 'Also I shall desire you further to know the king's pleasure touching the queen, as well for her comfort as for the preparation of scaffolds and other necessaries concerning. . . . Sir, I shall

[1] Heylin, *Hist. of Ref.*, p. 265.

desire you that we here may know the king's pleasure here as shortly as may be, that we here may prepare for the same which is necessary, for the same we here have now may for to do execution.'[1] There was to be no crowd at the execution, no blunt axes, or unhandy headsmen, but only those admitted who were officially entitled to be there, and the expert hangman from Calais who never missed his stroke with a sword, was brought to London for the purpose. And the ladies who loved her attended her to the last.

Henry's conduct on the death of his first two wives has been noted by all historians as brutally unfeeling. Queen Catherine died on Friday, January 7th, and 'on the following Sunday the King was clad all over in yellow, except the white feather he had in his bonnet, and the Little Bastard [Elizabeth] was conducted to mass with trumpets and other great triumphs. After the dinner the King entered the room in which the ladies danced, and there did several things like one transported with joy.'[2] This conduct was not the pleasure of a statesman who sees the chief obstacle to peace and prosperity removed, though undoubtedly Henry realized that Catherine's death dispelled the danger of war with Spain; it was not even the joy of release from an uncomfortable situation. It was the riotous joy of escape from imminent personal danger. His behaviour on that occasion would have been not unexpected in an adolescent, but he was a man of middle age, and his health already showed signs of failing. When he married Anne he was within a few months of forty-two, the age at which a victim was required, when he must either die or renew his youth. His royal relatives were for various reasons not available, but if Anne were willing to be the sacrifice if called upon, he could raise her to royal rank by marriage, and thus secure himself. When the time came, Anne stood the test, and Henry married Jane Seymour, exhibiting the same riotous joy that he had shown on the death of Catherine.[3]

The case of Katherine Howard has never attracted as much attention either among contemporary or later his-

[1] Cavendish (ed. Singer, 1825), ii, pp. 227, 228. Spelling modernized.
[2] Chapuys to Charles V. *Letters and Papers*, x, p. 51, no. 141.
[3] *Letters and Papers*, x, p. 378, no. 908.

torians as that of Anne Boleyn. Yet that whole episode shows the living force of the old Dianic Cult influencing and moving all the actors in the tragedy. Here the persons who decided on the victim and the date of the sacrifice were clearly the king's Privy Council; and on this occasion the highly Christian archbishop was included. It is interesting to observe that many of the mistakes made by the Council in the accusations and trial of Anne Boleyn were rectified or guarded against in the case of Katherine Howard.

The marriage was performed in private, and there is every reason to believe that Henry was truly in love with Katherine. Katherine, like Anne, had her moment of public triumph; Anne when she was crowned, Katherine at her bridal procession through London. The French and Spanish ambassadors writing to their respective courts give a short account of Katherine's reception in London, though at the time they were not particularly interested in the new queen. Marillac wrote on March 25th, 'The King on Saturday, 19th inst., went from Westminster to Greenwich by water, accompanied by the mayor and crafts masters of London, with the solemnity and triumph customary at the first passage of a new queen, for she who is now queen had not yet passed under the Bridge.'[1] Chapuys, the Spanish ambassador, reported on March 27th, 'The King lately took his Queen to Greenwich, and as it was the first time since her marriage that she had passed through London by the Thames the people gave her a splendid reception, and the Tower guns saluted her.'[2] Anne's triumph had been her own, but Katherine had to share hers with the king.

Anne and Katherine each stood in the same relation with the queen whom they succeeded. Whether Anne was to blame for the attitude of Catherine of Aragon towards her is not possible to determine now. A proud Spanish princess could not brook the idea of being discarded for the sake of a younger woman of non-royal blood, who had once been her lady-in-waiting, and her attendants and friends, including the Spanish ambassador, did all in their power to fan the flame of hatred. Anne of Cleves was a very different person; as

[1] *Letters and Papers*, xvi, p. 313, no. 650.
[2] Ibid., xvi, p. 319, no. 662.

long as she had plenty of pretty dresses and jewels, a comfortable home and a carefree life, she felt no ill will towards her successor. The account of her visit to queen Katherine Howard shows the friendly relations which subsisted between the two ladies. On the 3rd January 1542, the year that was to prove fatal to Katherine, 'the lady Anne of Cleves sent the King a New Year's present of two large horses with violet velvet trappings, and presented herself at Hampton Court with her suite. . . . She was received by the Duchess of Suffolk, the Countess of Hereford, and other ladies, who conducted her to her lodgings, and then to the Queen's apartments. She insisted on addressing the Queen on her knees, for all the Queen could say, who showed her the utmost kindness. The King then entered, and, after a low bow to lady Anne, embraced and kissed her. She occupied a seat near the bottom of the table at supper, but after the King had retired the Queen and lady Anne danced together.'[1] The behaviour of Anne of Cleves on this occasion is worth noting. It was not customary for ladies of her rank to kneel before a queen, for she was of royal blood and had herself been a queen. A possible explanation is that Anne regarded Katherine not merely as queen, but as the destined victim, in which case her apparently exaggerated humility can be understood. Though Anne of Cleves preferred to live in a certain amount of obscurity, she was of considerable importance in the politics of Europe. A large number of politicians in England and elsewhere would have been glad to see Katherine Howard eliminated, and Anne restored to her position as queen of England. How far this party influenced Katherine's fate is still obscure.

A great deal is always made of Henry's feelings towards Katherine, very little as to her feelings towards him. There is, however, one little record which has great significance. Katherine took as her device or motto *Non autré volonte que la sienne*. 'No other will but his.'[2] This is so reminiscent of the Christian 'Thy will be done', as the expression of utter

[1] *Letters and Papers*, xvi, p. 217, no. 436. Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary.

[2] Ibid., xvi, p. 5, no. 12. Marillac to de Montmorency, 3rd September 1540.

IX. Queen Katherine Howard: miniature painting

X. Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex

submission to the will of God, that it can hardly be accidental. If not accidental, then it shows that to Katherine at least the king was God Incarnate.

As in the case of Anne Boleyn, the accusation and evidence against Katherine Howard were arranged by the Privy Council, and Henry was kept in complete ignorance till the last moment. As to Cranmer, the Council had learnt by their previous experience that he had been undoubtedly sympathetic with the previous victim, Anne Boleyn. It seems that the plans were made and the witnesses ready to give evidence before he was informed. Then he was cunningly made the instrument for telling the king, for the first witness made his communication to him. His attitude towards Henry throughout that reign indicates that he was greatly influenced by a belief in the sanctity, if not in the divinity, of the kingship. In his eyes the king could do no wrong; and like many a Christian priest, sexual immorality in a woman was to him unpardonable and worthy of condign punishment.

The evidence brought forward at the trials of both queens is eminently unsatisfactory. Anne was never confronted with Smeton, the chief witness against her, but as his evidence was extorted under torture it is suspect. The inclusion of her brother among the accused seems to have been for the purpose of rebutting the obvious defence that, as queen, she was always under observation, but she would naturally allow more freedom to her brother in his behaviour to her than to any other man, and with a certain amount of exaggeration the worst construction could have been put on his and her conduct. On the other hand the defence of both Anne and her brother was so convincing that when they were condemned there was a strong feeling that the sentence was unjust. In the case of Katherine Howard it is interesting to see that the Privy Council had learned by their experience of the previous trial how to arrange the evidence so that there should be no loophole of escape for the victim nor any possibility of sympathy with her. The evidence seems to have been carefully prepared to appear as an accidental disclosure. Katherine Tylney, who had known Katherine Howard before she became queen, waited several months before making her horrifying disclosure, which was at once reported to

Cranmer who reported to the Privy Council. It is surprising to note how many witnesses then rushed to give evidence against the queen. That they were imprisoned for misprision of treason was of little importance, for they were released as soon as Katherine was dead. The men who were accused as Katherine's 'accomplices' had been carefully chosen. Culpepper, who was her first cousin,[1] was known to have been one of the most vicious young men at court,[2] and Dereham was an old acquaintance to whom Katherine had given a post. Two letters tell most against Katherine in the eyes of the modern historian, but whether they were part of the evidence against her at her trial is uncertain. The first is from Jane Bulmer to the queen, written before the divorce of Anne of Cleves.[3] This is usually taken to be a blackmailing letter, but it might also be the kind of letter that would be written by a pushing person determined to lose nothing for want of asking. The second letter purports to be from Katherine to Culpepper, and if genuine may be regarded as proof of Katherine's immorality. But there is no record of her having acknowledged it as hers, and as there appears to be no other specimen of any letter of hers extant there is nothing to compare it with. Forgeries and false letters were not uncommon even in that age, and the value of the letter as proof of guilt is too uncertain for it to be accepted. The Privy Council very cunningly accused Lady Rochford of being not only privy to Katherine's escapades but as actually encouraging them. This answered the objection which was felt in Anne Boleyn's case, that the queen was always under observation. If the observer was also an accomplice the objection could not stand. Marillac's remark in his letter to Francis I on 7th December 1541,[4] voices public opinion: 'Many people thought the publication of these foul details strange, but the intention is to prevent it being said afterwards that they were unjustly condemned.' He goes on to record another curious fact, 'Another strange thing has been noted, viz. that Norfolk was at the judgment, and even in ex-

[1] Katherine's mother and Culpepper's father were brother and sister.
[2] See Appendix 5g, p. 241.
[3] See Appendix 5d, p. 237.
[4] See Appendix 5e, p. 238.

amining the prisoners laughed as if he had cause to rejoice.'[1] The only explanation of his heartless conduct when assisting in condemning a girl, his brother's child, is that he was himself the destined victim and his life was saved only by the sacrifice of hers.

When the news became public, which was in November 1541, Chapuys and Marillac reported at once to their courts, Chapuys wrote that 'last Lent this King feigning indisposition, was 10 or 12 days without seeing his Queen, or allowing her to come to his room, during which time there was much talk of a divorce; but owing to some surmise that she was with child, or else because the means for a divorce were not arranged the affair slept till the 5th inst., when the King went into the Council room and remained there till noon. Suddenly, after dinner, he entered his small barge and came here [London] from Hampton Court, where the rest of the Privy Council remained sitting, to assist whom the Chancellor and Norfolk were sent for in haste the night before at midnight. After the King had left, the archbishop of Canterbury entered the Queen's chamber two or three times, to interrogate or admonish her, as is supposed, on the part of the Council, but he did not make much out. On the evening of the 6th the Privy Councillors returned and stayed nearly all night deliberating in the King's apartments, and then the day after, night and day, at the house of the bishop of Winchester, where it was resolved to discharge most of those who were at Hampton Court with the Queen, all coffers and chests being sealed and the doors guarded. Among others who remained inside the palace was the archbishop of Canterbury, who has charge of everything. Meanwhile the queen's brother [Charles Howard] is forbidden the King's Chamber, and some time before a damsel of the Privy Chamber named Fenelle and a gentleman named Durem, usher of the chamber to the Queen, had been sent to the Tower. The King pretends that Durem had been actually betrothed to the Queen before her marriage, which is therefore invalid.'[2]

Cranmer certainly interviewed Katherine and sent a report to the king. Cranmer's feeling towards Katherine was very

[1] *Letters and Papers*, xvi, p. 666, no. 1426.
[2] *Letters and Papers*, xvi, p. 611, no. 1328.

different from his feeling towards Anne Boleyn in similar circumstances. He had intended to bully the young queen, but she was already so frightened that he had to soothe her to a certain extent, and apparently by means of promises extorted from her some admissions, which in her terror she signed. Later, when she was more composed, she retracted these admissions. Her terror was only natural, for it depended entirely on the king whether her death should be by burning or by the more merciful axe.

Cranmer reported that he had seen the queen, 'whose state it would have pitied any man's heart to see. She has continued so ever since I left her'. He had purposed first to exaggerate her demerits, then declare the justice of the laws, and lastly, signify the king's mercy, but for fear she should 'enter into a frenzy, I was fain to begin with the last'. She broke out into 'extreme braydes', and he asked her what new fantasy had come into her head, and she answered that 'this sudden mercy' made her offences seem more heinous. He enclosed 'all I can get touching any communication of marriage with Durame, which she thinks no contract, nor would it be if carnal copulation had not followed.' The reason why Mr. Baynton had been sent to the king was to declare her state, and because, after Cranmer left, 'she began to excuse and temper the things she had said and put her hand to, for she says that what Deram did was by force'.[1]

Katherine was removed from Hampton Court and sent to Sion House, where she was still treated as queen. By this time she knew what her fate would be, for Chapuys writes to Charles V on 29th January 1542, 'It is to be feared that the Queen will soon be sent to the Tower, who is still at Syon making good cheer, fatter and more beautiful than ever, careful in her attire, and more imperious and difficult to serve than when she was with the King, although she expects death, and only asks for a secret execution.'[2]

During her residence at Sion House, Dereham and Culpepper were brought before their judges, endured a mere farce of a trial and were condemned. Marillac in a letter to Francis I, dated 22nd November 1541, gives the whole

[1] *Letters and Papers*, xvi, p. 610, no. 1325.
[2] *Letters and Papers*, xvii, p. 716, app. B4.

story as he heard it: he speaks of 'the beauty and sweetness of the queen and the king's affection for her; of her "proved amours" with Durant before she was queen, and her "presumptive amours" afterwards with Durant and with Culpepper, the latter having been from childhood brought up in the King's chamber, and ordinarily shared his bed, and apparently wished to share the queen's also. It was only a month ago that a lady who had been long in the house of the duchess of Norfolk [Katherine's grandmother] told her brother that she was surprised at the King's taking for Queen one who had lived so incontinently before marriage. The brother, knowing that it would be high treason not to reveal such a thing within 24 hours, consulted a friend, and by common advice, they revealed all to the archbishop of Canterbury, and he by advice of the Chancellor and lord of Hertford, wrote it out, and on the morrow of All Saints [November 2nd] presented the writing to the king at Hampton Court. The King consulted his Council, and the informers were, upon other pretexts, arrested and questioned. Durant confessed; other witnesses told what they knew; the Queen after denying all to Norfolk, confessed to the archbishop; and Durant, to show his innocence since the marriage, said that Colpepre had succeeded him in the Queen's affections. As soon as the case was proved, proclamation was made at Hampton Court that she had forfeited her honour, and should be proceeded against by law. Colpepre's estates are distributed, and he is in the Tower awaiting execution.'[1]

As in Anne Boleyn's case, the 'accomplices' were tried first, so that being condemned they could not be confronted with the queen. A clerk of the Privy Council was sent to Chapuys on St. Andrew's Day [November 30th] to tell him that Culpepper and Dereham would be tried the day after for high treason, and begged that he would send one of his secretaries to be present at the trial. A similar intimation and request were sent to the French ambassador, the Venetian secretary, and the gentleman of the duke of Cleves who was still in England. 'All the Privy Council witnessed the trial which lasted for six hours, and the two gentlemen were sentenced as traitors. Duram confessed his early intimacy with

[1] *Letters and Papers*, xvi, p. 630, no. 1366.

the Queen but justified it as an engagement. Culpepper persisted in denying his guilt, and said it was the Queen who, through Lady Rocheford, solicited him to meet her in private in Lincolnshire, when she herself told him she was dying for his love. It is thought both will be beheaded today. Lady Rocheford would have been sentenced at the same time, but that on the third day of her imprisonment she went mad. She recovers her reason now and then, and the King has sent her to be with the Admiral's wife, and gets his own physicians to visit her, desiring her recovery that he may afterwards have her executed as an example. The Queen is still at Sion House, and it is believed that the King, to show his clemency towards her, will do nothing more about her till Parliament meets and decides what her fate is to be.'[1]

The execution took place on February 13th, Katherine having been brought from Sion House to the Tower, where lady Rochford also was. Chapuys, writing to Charles V some days later, gives some interesting details: 'After the condemnation passed against her in Parliament, the King, wishing to proceed with moderation, had sent to her certain Councillors and others of the said Parliament, to offer her to come and defend her own case in the Parliament.[2] This she declined, submitting entirely to the king's mercy and owning that she deserved death. Some days later on the afternoon of the 10th, she was, with some resistance, conveyed by river to the Tower. The lord Privy Seal, with a number of Privy Councillors and servants went first in a great barge; then came the queen with three or four men and as many ladies, in a small covered barge; then the Duke of Suffolk, in a great barge, with a company of his men. On their arrival at the Tower, the lords landed first, then the Queen, in black velvet, and they paid her as much honour as when she was reigning. On Sunday the 12th, towards evening she asked to have the block brought in to her, that she might know how to place herself; which was done, and she made trial of it. Next morning about 7, those of the Council except Suffolk, who was ill, and Norfolk, were at the Tower, accompanied by various lords and gentlemen, such

[1] *Letters and Papers*, p. 652, no. 1401.

[2] This was before the king's assent had been given.

as Surrey,[1] and she was beheaded in the same spot where Anne Boleyn had been executed. Her body was then covered with a black cloak, and her ladies took it away. Then lady Rochford was brought, who had shown symptoms of madness till they told her she must die. Neither she nor the queen spoke much on the scaffold, they only confessed their guilt and prayed for the king's welfare.'[2]

The accounts of the execution of Katherine, as given by the ambassadors of France and Spain, cannot be relied on, as they are only based on hearsay. The true account is that of the eyewitness Otwell Johnson in his letter to his brother:

'At London the 15th day in February 1541.

'From Calleis I have harde nothing as yet of your sute to my Lord Gray: and for news from hens, know ye, that even according to my writing on Sonday last, I se the Quene and the lady Rotcheford suffer within the Tower, the day following, whos sowles (I doubt not) be with God, for they made the moost godly and christyan's end, that ever was hard tell of (I thinke) sins the world's creation; uttering thayer lively faeth in the blode of Christe onely, and with goodly words and stedfast countenances they desyred all christen people to take regard unto thayer worthy and just punishment with death for thayer offences, and agenst God hainously from thayer youth upward, in breaking all his commandements, and also agenst the King's royal Majesty very daungerously; wherfor thay being justly condempned (as they sayed) by the Lawes of the Realme and Parlement, to dye, required the people (I say) to take example at them, for amendment of thayer ungodly lyves, and gladly to obey the King in all things, for whos preservation they did hartely pray: and willed all people so to do, commending thayer sowles to God, and ernestly calling for mercy upon him; whom I besieche to geve us grace, with suche faeth, hope, and charite at our departing owt of this miserable world, to come to the fruytion of his godhed in joy everlasting. Amen.

Your loving brother

Otwell Johnson.'[3]

[1] The Earl of Surrey was the Duke of Norfolk's son, and cousin of the queen.

[2] *Letters and Papers*, xvii, p. 50, no. 124.

[3] Ellis, *Original Letters* (1st series), vol. ii, p. 128, no. 147.

Chapuys comments on Henry's behaviour after the condemnation of the queen. That behaviour is the more extraordinary when it is remembered that he genuinely loved Katherine. Chapuys, in his letter of February 29th, says, 'the King has been in better spirits since the execution, and during the three days before Lent there has been much feasting'.[1] Writing a few days later, he says, that in his last letter he 'advertised the condemnation by Parliament of the Queen and the ladies Norfolk, her daughter and Rochford. Until then this King had never, since he detected the Queen's conduct, shown joy; as he has done since, especially on the said 29th,[2] when he gave a supper and banquet to the ladies, 26 of whom were at his table, with certain lords, and 25 sat at an adjoining table.'[3]

Marillac, in his letter to Francis I, calls attention to the 'surprising similarity to the case of the late queen Anne, how Colpepre has succeeded Master Nourris, who was in favour with his master, and how the widow of the late lord of Rochefort conducted Colpepre's practices just as her late lord encouraged the adulteries of his sister queen Anne'.[4] Marillac, however, mentions only the similarity of the evidence given at the trials; had he investigated further he would have found that the career of Katherine Howard when queen is almost exactly parallel with that of queen Anne Boleyn. The accompanying table shows a parallelism which cannot be accidental but appears to conform to a pattern.

| *Anne Boleyn* | *Katherine Howard* |
|---|---|
| Belonged to a victim family | Belonged to a victim family |
| Lady-in-waiting to the previous queen | Lady-in-waiting to the previous queen |
| Married privately to the king after divorce of queen | Married privately to the king after divorce of queen |
| No word against her character until a victim was required | No word against her character until the seven-multiple of the king's age is reached |

[1] *Letters and Papers*, xvii, p. 51, no. 124.

[2] The day of Katherine's execution.

[3] *Letters and Papers*, xvii, p. 717, app. B6. Fifty-one ladies, with the king as the Incarnate God, making fifty-two persons, i.e. four covens.

[4] *Letters and Papers*, xvi, p. 630, no. 1366.

| | |
|---|---|
| Privy Council collects evidence | Privy Council collects evidence |
| King secretly informed | King secretly informed |
| King suddenly leaves Greenwich | King suddenly leaves Hampton Court |
| Queen arrested on charge of adultery | Queen arrested on charge of adultery |
| Accomplices tried | Accomplices tried |
| One (Smeton) 'confessed' | One (Dereham) 'confessed' |
| Lord Rochford specially accused and executed | Lady Rochford specially accused and executed |
| Queen treated with utmost respect | Queen treated with utmost respect |
| Public attainder of queen by Parliament | Public attainder of queen by Parliament |
| Queen denies specific charge | Queen denies specific charge |
| Accomplices executed | Accomplices executed |
| Queen executed in sacrificial month | Queen executed in sacrificial month |
| Queen goes to her death calmly and joyfully, declaring her innocence and believing she would go straight to heaven | Queen goes to her death calmly, declaring her innocence, and believing she would go straight to heaven |
| Ladies attend her to the end, carry away both head and body | Ladies attend her to the end, carry away both head and body |
| On death of queen the king shows great joy | On death of queen the king shows great joy |
| By common gossip it was a trumped-up charge | By common gossip it was a trumped-up charge |

There are a few facts in the careers of both queens which call for some comment.

Henry's behaviour and actions are so peculiar that they need some explanation other than that which is usually given. It is customary to credit him with being a monster of jealousy, infidelity and cruelty, with hardly a redeeming quality, but the recorded facts do not bear out this character at all convincingly. Though all his marriages were for political purposes or for the acknowledged desire of obtaining male heirs, he appears to have treated his queens with kindness and respect during the time of their married lives. His conduct to Anne of Cleves was strikingly generous. And it seems that he would have treated Catherine of Aragon with the

same generosity if she would have consented to a divorce and acknowledged the consummation of her marriage with prince Arthur. It is understandable and perhaps forgivable that she should swear she was 'a clene maiden' when she married Henry, but she and the whole Spanish court could not have forgotten that the 'tokens of virginity' had been sent to her father soon after that first marriage.[1]

All historians appear to credit Henry with a surprising innocence in sexual matters. Yet when he married Anne Boleyn, he had had four children by Catherine of Aragon to whom he had been married for more than twenty years. He had an illegitimate son, the duke of Richmond, then about thirteen years old; and he is said to have had two other mistresses. When he married Katherine Howard, he had had two children by Anne Boleyn, and one by Jane Seymour, at least eight children altogether. Yet it is taken for granted that he did not know that Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard were not virgins when he married them until he was told by his Privy Council.

In all countries where the subject of the Divine King has been studied, it has been observed that when the king's powers of fertility begin to fail, he must be sacrificed to make room for a younger and stronger man. Henry was married for over six months to Anne of Cleves, and at the end of that time there was no sign of a child. He was married for four months to Katherine Howard, and again there was no sign of offspring. Any anthropologist encountering these facts in a country where the theory of the Incarnate God was in force, would realize that such a contingency as had now occurred in England was already provided for in the usual practice of the cult. There were two alternatives; either the king, the Incarnate God, must die, or a substitute must be provided who would die in his stead, and by that substitute's death new life would pass into the king and renew his virility. Henry's immediate marriage after Anne Boleyn's death, with the happy result in the birth of an heir, would confirm him and other believers that the right method had been followed. Again, after Katherine Howard's death, he invited two covens of ladies to a great feast, showing that he was

[1] Cavendish, *Wolsey* (ed. Singer), ii, p. 289.

ready to prove that his powers had not failed. And that he was not alone in this belief is clear from the petition to him from Parliament, begging him not to be discouraged but to marry again.

The career of Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, follows the usual pattern of the Substitute Victim. He rose to power with meteoric swiftness, until he was almost supreme, his fall was rapid and his doom inevitable.

He could claim descent from Edward III on his father's side through the daughter of Thomas of Woodstock; but still more important was his descent from the fated family of Howard, for his mother's mother was the daughter of Queen Anne Boleyn's sister.[1] Elizabeth must have known him from his birth, and there is no doubt that she had great affection for him. It was due to her favour that he rose to his high position, but whether she knew what the end would be is uncertain, for like all the Tudors she kept her own counsel even from her most trusted friends.

Essex's power though supreme was short lived, lasting little more than two years. That he was extremely capable is very certain, and he had the art of making himself popular; the expedition to Cadiz brought him to the height of power and made him for a time the darling of the people. 'It was difficult to conceive what could prevent Essex from becoming before long the real ruler of England. His ascendancy over Elizabeth appeared to be complete. . . . The Cecils bowed before him; Raleigh was not admitted to the royal presence; no other rivals were visible. Dominating the Council table, he shouldered the duties and responsibilities of high office with vigour and assurance.'[2]

The crash came in 1599. Even as late as 19th November 1598, Richard Bayley could write to Sir William Stanley, 'the Earl of Essex is in greater credit than ever in Court; the Lord Buckhurst in league with him, and likely to be Lord Treasurer, Raleigh and Essex are not reconciled, and but hollow friendship between him and the Secretary.'[3] Slander against him was active, set on foot by his political and per-

[1] For the genealogy of the Earl of Essex, see Appendix 6a, p. 242.

[2] G. Lytton Strachey, *Elizabeth and Essex*, p. 114.

[3] *Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*, p. 121. R. Bayley to Col. Sir Wm. Stanley.

sonal enemies, but perhaps founded on fact. On 20th November 1598, Charles Paget wrote to Thomas Barnes that Edmondes had told Owen that Essex had sent Paget 'to kill Sir William Stanley, with other intolerable lies, as were marvellous. It is not amiss that you inform the Earl of his behaviour, because he may bring some honest man into trouble by things of his own invention.'[1]

Essex had by this time succeeded in forcing Elizabeth by his sheer persistence to give him the chief command in Ireland. His conduct seems to have been that of a spoilt child, and the letters of the period show him as utterly unfit for so high a post. On 28th December 1598, 'the Earl of Essex's journey [to Ireland] is quite dasht, not that there is any other order taken, but only that things shall still drive on as they may. Till Sunday it held fast that the Earl was to go, but a sudden alteration came on Sunday night, the reason whereof is yet kept secret.'[2] And a couple of months later, on 1st March 1599, 'The Earl of Essex is crazed but whether more in body or mind is doubtful. . . . New difficulties arise daily about his commission, as touching the time of his abode, touching his entertainment, and touching the disposing of places and offices upon which points he is so little satisfied that many times he makes it a question whether he go or not.'[3]

He was at last forced to leave and take up his appointment, with the result that he proved himself a failure, and to cover his ill success he foolishly entered into negotiations with Tyrone whom he had been sent to conquer.[4]

On his return to England, determined to justify his conduct, he had a hostile reception. Elizabeth refused to see him, and he was placed under house arrest. In vain he pleaded and threatened, Elizabeth was adamant in refusing to admit him to her presence. It was at this period that Elizabeth played that cat-and-mouse game which has always puzzled historians as it puzzled some of her contemporaries. The

[1] *Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*, p. 122. Paget to Thomas Barnes.

[2] Chamberlain, *Letters*, no. 13, p. 33.

[3] Ibid., no. 18, p. 46.

[4] See Appendix 6b, p. 242, for the text of Essex's commission as Governor-General.

*Advertisements of News* for 30th April 1600, has this item, 'What shall become of the Earl of Essex is not yet known. Some days his friends are afraid he shall come to public trial, and another day his enemies are afraid that he shall escape all further punishment.'[1] On July 1st, John Chamberlain wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton, 'Essex is gone to day to the Lord Keeper's at York House, to appear before him, the Lord Treasurer, and Mr. Secretary, and be discharged of his keeper, but still to keep his house, and have access to none but his own people.'[2] Chamberlain wrote again on October 10th, 'The Earl of Essex is here [London], and at Barn Elms; his friends make great means for him to run [at the ring] on the Queen's day, and hope soon to see him in favour; I do not expect it for his licence for sweet wines, expired at Michaelmas, is not renewed', and five days later he repeated that ominous piece of news, 'The Earl of Essex is much in town, fed with hope, but the licence for sweet wines lies at anchor aloof.'[3] As the greater part of the earl's income came from this licence, the fact that the queen had not renewed it boded ill for Essex. To ruin him financially was the obvious way to drive him to despair. Rash and irresponsible, with others like him, he tried to raise an insurrection in London, relying on his popularity with the Londoners to succeed in seizing the queen's person and forcing her to reinstate him. The insurrection was a dismal failure, Essex and his friends were captured, and were arraigned and tried for their lives. 'The 19th hereof [February] the Erles of Essex and Southampton were arraigned at Westminster before the Lord Treasurer, Lord High Steward of England for that day, and 25 of their peers, whereof were 9 earls and 16 barons. The only matter objected were the practice to surprise the Court, his coming in arms into London to raise rebellion, and the defending his house against the Queen's forces. To the two latter he answered that he was driven for safety of his life, to the former that it was a matter only in consultation, and not resolved upon, and, if it had taken effect, it was only to prostrate himself at her Majesty's feet, and there

[1] *Cal. St. Pap. Com.*, cclxxiv, p. 429, no. 120.
[2] Ibid., cclxxv, p. 448, no. 21.
[3] Ibid., cclxxv, pp. 477, 479, nos. 89, 94.

manifest such matters against his enemies as should make them odious, and remove them from about her person, and recall him to her former favour. This was the sum of his answer, but delivered with such bravery and so many words that a man might easily perceive that, as he had lived popularly, so his chief care was to leave a good opinion in the people's minds now at parting. But the worst of all was his many and loud protestations of his faith and loyalty to the Queen and State, which no doubt caught and carried away a great part of the hearers; but I cannot be so easily led to believe protestations (though never so deep) against manifest proof.'[1] The general feeling against Essex is expressed in the official account of the rising, 'Amongst all the treasons that have happened in this kingdom, none can be found more detestable than this wicked purpose of the Earl of Essex, now in the Tower, to set the Crown of England upon his own head. He pretends that his only drift was to remove certain persons from Her Majesty, which if he could have effected by force, then only such as he liked would have attended her Council and person, whereby Her Majesty and the Government would have been in his hands, until Her Highness must either have been sick, and then you know what would have followed, or have been dealt with as some King of this land was used, that he might reign himself.'[2] It was common report that Essex meant to be king. As early as January 1600 Lord Fitzmorice had said openly that if Her Majesty were dead Essex would be king of England, and O'Neil Viceroy of Ireland, who would send him eight thousand men out of Ireland when needful.[3] Vincent Hussey puts the matter clearly in his letter of February 18th, just one week before the execution: 'He would have removed Her Majesty's servants [i.e. Ministers], perhaps let her continue a time, and then stepped into her chair and put her where Richard II was.'[4]

There could, of course, be only one end to the trial. Essex had risen in arms against his sovereign, and been taken prisoner in the act.

[1] Chamberlain, *Letters*, no. xxxviii, p. 104.
[2] *Cal. St. Pap. Com.*, cclxxviii, p. 565, no. 63. Directions for Preachers.
[3] Ibid., cclxxiv, p. 386, no. 22.
[4] Ibid., cclxxviii, p. 584, no. 94.

He was sentenced to death and on February 25th at 8 o'clock in the morning he was executed on Tower Green. 'Being come upon the scaffold, which was set up in the midst of the court, he was apparelled in a gown of wrought velvet, a satin suit and felt hat, all black; and first turning himself towards the divines, he said, "O God, be merciful unto me, the most wretched creature on the earth"; and then turning himself towards the noblemen that sat on a form placed before the scaffold, he vayled his hat and making reverence to the Lords, laid it away, and with his eyes most attentively fixed up to Heaven, spoke to this effect: "My Lords, and you my Christian brethren, who are to be witnesses of this my just punishment, I confess to the glory of God that I am a most wretched sinner; and that my sins are more in number than the hairs of my head; that I have bestowed my youth in pride, lust, uncleanness, vain glory, and divers other sins, according to the fashion of this world, wherein I have offended most grievously my God. . . . I humbly beseech our Saviour Christ to be the Mediator unto the Eternal Majesty for my pardon, especially for this my last sin, this great, this bloody, this crying, this infectious sin, whereby so many, for the love of me, have ventured their lives and souls. . . . Lord Jesus, forgive it us, and forgive it me, the most wretched of all; and I humbly beseech Her Majesty, the State, and Ministers thereof, to forgive it us!" Here followed a prayer for the Queen. "I beseech you and the world to have a charitable opinion of me for my intention towards Her Majesty, whose death, upon my salvation and before God, I protest I never meant, nor violence to her person; yet I confess I have received an honourable trial, and am justly condemned. And I desire all the world to forgive me, even as I do freely and from my heart forgive all the world." '[1]

Elizabeth's policy towards him seems to have been deliberate; when he returned from his ill-fated expedition to Ireland, there was not sufficient evidence to secure a conviction for high treason, though there was plenty for waste of treasure and for treating with the enemy. But in the year 1602 she would have reigned forty-two years, a multiple of seven. Essex fulfilled many of the qualifications of the substi-

[1] *Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*, cclxxviii, p. 593, no. 112.

tute; he descended, though remotely, from a victim family, he wielded the royal power for a time, his end was by bloodshed in a sacrificial month. It is perhaps significant that of all those daring and rash young men at Elizabeth's court, Essex was the only one whom Burleigh warned of his fate; for at a council meeting Burleigh opened his Bible and showed Essex the words in the fifty-fifth Psalm, 'Bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days.'

The case of Robert Carr, viscount Rochester and afterwards earl of Somerset, follows the usual pattern of the Substitute Victim until the final act. He was young, good looking and strong; he was of moderately good birth; he became the practical ruler of the kingdom, for no one could reach the king except through him. His fall was sudden and complete. But possibly owing to the more civilized times in which he lived, he suffered the living death of complete ostracism and not death by the axe. James was then forty-nine, the climacteric year.

The ostensible cause of Somerset's fall was his connection with the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. This man was to Somerset what Somerset was to the king. Just as no one could obtain access to the king except through Somerset, so no one could obtain access to Somerset except through Overbury. He was so much in Somerset's confidence that the secret correspondence of the king, all of which passed through Somerset's hands, passed also through Overbury's. In consequence Overbury regarded himself as the greatest man in the kingdom, "twas a great question who was the proudest, Sir Walter [Raleigh] or Sir Thomas Overbury, but the difference that was, was judged on Sir Thomas' side'.[1] This continued until Somerset fell in love with the Countess of Essex,[2] who returned his passion, and in order to get rid of a husband whom she disliked she brought a suit for nullity of marriage. Overbury used all his influence against Somerset's connection with the lady, with the result that he utterly offended his patron and also incurred the unrelenting hatred of Lady Essex. Overbury therefore had to be got rid of.

[1] Aubrey, *Brief Lives* (ed. 1898), ii, p. 182.

[2] She was Lady Frances Howard, daughter of Thomas Howard, first Duke of Suffolk, and was therefore a member of the Substitute Victim family.

XI. Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset

XII. Frances, Countess of Somerset

Through Somerset's influence he was offered by the king an ambassadorship abroad, but on Somerset's advice he refused it. Overbury was at once committed to the Tower for contempt. Somerset was well aware that this would be the result of the refusal to accept the royal offer, as he acknowledged at his trial, when he tried to excuse his action by saying that he only did it to punish Overbury for his injurious words about Lady Essex. Whether this was the truth or not, one thing is certain that by Somerset's contrivance the lieutenant of the Tower was dismissed and Sir Gervase Elwes was appointed in his stead. Elwes was undoubtedly under the influence of Somerset, to whom he owed that position. Then Lady Essex arranged that a man called Weston was appointed as special warder for Overbury. The unfortunate prisoner was permitted to see none of his friends, and no news of him was allowed to leak out. Somerset constantly wrote, promising to visit him and saying that he would do all he could to effect his release. Overbury fell ill and Somerset sent him a white powder and also tarts and jellies. Somerset was probably quite honest in his assertion that he believed all these to be perfectly harmless, but the evidence shows that they were tampered with by Weston. Overbury grew worse, and finally died, and was buried in the Tower.

There is no satisfactory record of the means by which the story of the poisoning became known. Lady Essex, Elwes, Weston and all the other accessaries would not breathe a word to incriminate themselves. The story told was that the apothecary's boy, who had administered the final poison which killed Overbury, was in Holland, and there told the English agent what had happened. The agent at once wrote to Secretary Winwood, saying he had important information which could not be trusted to a letter and asking leave to come over and deliver the news by word of mouth. Winwood then informed the king and the result was the sensational trial of all the persons concerned. It should be noted that the number of the accused was thirteen, and that the lesser people were convicted and hanged, while the two who were accused of being the promoters of the affair were pardoned, though convicted. It was against the appointed victim, the earl of Somerset, that the whole trial was aimed, but

it is clear from Bacon's letter to the king (see Appendix 6c) that James had no intention of allowing his one-time favourite to be executed. He might in his interview with the judges call down God's curse on them and himself if they or he showed any partiality to any of the accused, but it is very obvious that he meant only the small fry, not the earl and countess.

The lesser folk[1] were tried and executed before the end of the year 1615, with the exception of Sir Thomas Monson, who was arraigned on December 4th, but was informed that his trial was postponed as he was suspected of worse crimes. This was an example of the advice which Bacon gives the king in his letter[2] 'that there is cause of further examination concerning matters of estate, and so make as well a politic ground and a ground of clemency, for further stay'.[3] Monson was finally released in the following October and received a full pardon.

The countess was not sent to the Tower till 27th March 1616, and Somerset appears to have threatened the King that he would make disclosures. But James was not the man to be afraid of disclosures as he was totally unscrupulous in stopping the mouths of such as menaced him, as witness the killing of the Ruthven brothers. On May 24th the countess was tried by her peers, confessed her guilt, and was condemned to death. It was observed that she took the sentence calmly and retired quietly from court. 'The Countess on arraignment won pity by her sober demeanour, which, in my opinion, was more curious and confident than was fitty for a lady in such distress, and yet she shed, or made shew of, some tears diverse times.'[4]

On the following day, May 25th, Somerset was brought to the same court of Peers, and was tried for his life. He pleaded not guilty, and defended himself with courage and skill, but with Coke and Bacon both arrayed against him

[1] 'The net was for the little fishes, the great ones could break through.' Amos, p. 102.

[2] For Bacon's correspondence with the king and Villiers, see Appendix 6c-f, pp. 243–52.

[3] Appendix 6c, p. 244.

[4] T. Birch. *Court of James I.* ii p. 407.

under the secret sanction of the king, Somerset had no chance of escaping. As Bacon points out in a letter to James,[1] the peers could give only a clear-cut verdict, either Guilty or Not Guilty. In the first case, sentence of death followed automatically, in the second, the accused was set free without further ado. It was this latter contingency that Bacon feared. 'In this case the Lord Steward must be provided what to do. For as it hath never been seen, as I conceive it, that there should be any rejection of the verdict, or any respiting of the acquittal: so on the other side this case requireth, that because there may be many high and heinous offences, though not capital, for which he may be questioned in the star-chamber, or otherwise, that there be some touch of that in general at the conclusion, by my lord Steward of England; and that therefore he be remanded to the Tower as close prisoner.' To this suggestion James gave his consent.

Bacon's letters and the whole conduct of the trial show that the accusation and investigation were aimed at Somerset only. The rest of the accused may or may not have been guilty of poisoning Overbury, but Somerset was certainly responsible for Overbury's imprisonment, though with the strong probability that it was done with the king's cognizance. James was then forty-nine, which is not only a multiple of seven but is also the climacteric year, when the danger to life was regarded as most acute. Somerset fulfilled all the conditions for a Substitute Victim except a connection by blood or marriage with the king. The relation in which he stood to James may have been considered as equivalent to such a condition.

[1] Appendix 6c, p. 245.

Chapter Six

# THE SACRING OF THE KING

*The Almighty has derived a Mysterious Majestie to their Persons, and an holy Oyle is poured upon them.*
Burney, *Kerdiston Doron*, p. 3

The method of causing the Deity, i.e. the Creator Spirit, to enter into the king, thereby making him divine, varies considerably in England during the centuries in which it has been practised. The chief change was the introduction of the rite of anointing which was brought in by the Christian missionaries. It is obvious that anointing must have originated in a country where oil was plentiful and formed part of the daily food of the people. Oil-producing plants and trees are rare in the cold climate of England, where animal fats only were used. The earliest missionaries came direct from the eastern Mediterranean to Ireland and the west side of England and Scotland; Augustine and his companions, though entering on the east side, also came from an oil-producing country. The fact that oil was so rare in northern lands would make it magical in the eyes of the converts, and its use would be restricted to special ceremonies only. The legends of the sacred oil coming down from heaven for the anointing of Clovis, and the presentation of anointing oil to Thomas à Becket by the Virgin Mary, point to the introduction of an unknown, and therefore magical, material to be used in religious ceremonies only.

The earliest account of the anointing of a king comes, as might be expected, from Palestine, where the olive was abundant. In one of the Tell el Amarna letters of the fifteenth century B.C., the king of Nukhashi, Ramman-Nisan, wrote to the Pharaoh of Egypt,'Manakhbiria, king of Egypt, thy grandfather, made my grandfather, Taku, king in Nuk-

hashi, and poured oil on his head'.[1] This shows that the anointing of kings was a custom in the eastern Mediterranean lands from a remote antiquity; and that, in anointing Saul and David, Samuel was only following an old custom of the country and not introducing a new one.

The most primitive form of the deifying of the king in England, seems to have been extremely simple. He was chosen by acclamation, he was then stripped naked and seated upon the Sacred Stone, in which the God was immanent. As the God was the absolute Giver of all Fertility and as that power passed by contact to his human representative, it was essential that the generative organs of the king should come in physical contact with the Sacred Stone.[2] A primitive rite of this kind survived in Africa among the Shilluk of Fashoda until the beginning of this century. Like the greater number of divine kings, the king of the Shilluk was put to death when he showed signs of failing power. The deity of the Shilluk, Nyakang, when not incarnate, inhabited a sacred object which was kept in the chief shrine and was attended there by priests. At the installation of a new king the people assembled outside the shrine, and the new king and the chief priest brought from the shrine the sacred stool or throne, and set it on the ground in full view of all the people. After various sacrifices, chants and prayers, the chief priest brought the Nyakang object from the shrine and laid it on the throne. More chants and prayers followed, then the chief priest lifted Nyakang off the throne and the new king at once sat down on the throne where Nyakang had rested.[3] Here it is clear that the Divine Spirit passed out of the sacred object into the throne, and then from the the throne into the new king by means of the generative organs. The importance of the throne is seen also in India, 'It is the throne alone which envisages the reverence of the people of Bengal . . . whoever kills the king and succeeds in placing himself on that throne is immediately acknowledged as king. . . . The people of

[1] J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El Amarna Tafeln*, i, p. 319.

[2] If the account of the consecration of a new pope as given by Adam of Usk (p. 215) is correct, it would seem that the enthroning was for the same purpose.

[3] Frazer, *The Dying God* (ed. 1936), pp. 23, 24.

Bengal say, "We are faithful to the throne; whoever fills the throne we are obedient and true to it." '[1]

A Sacred Stone was used by our Saxon kings as a throne when they were installed. It stood at Kingston-on-Thames, and it was there that Athelstan, 'who ruled all the kings who were in this island',[2] was crowned in 924.[3] In 946 Edred the etheling 'was anoynted at Kyngeston of Odo the archebysshop'.[4] Ethelred the Unready, in 979, was consecrated at Kingston, 'and there was at his consecration two archbishops and ten suffragan bishops'.[5] The Stone of Destiny, which Edward I brought from Scotland to England and which is used to this day in the sacring of our kings, was one of these Holy Stones in which God was believed to reside, being thus a Beth-el or House of God. In Ireland the Lia Fail, the Screaming Stone of Tara, was used in the same way, but here the ceremony was more dramatic, for the stone was said to scream or roar when touched by the king.[6] The sound presumably indicated to the assembled people the passing of the Divine Spirit into the body of the king. It is possible that the Blowing Stone of Kingston Lisle was one of the Sacred Stones for the enthronement of kings, and like the Lia Fail audibly announced the deification of the man enthroned upon it. The stone of Cashel is another of the enthroning stones; and this, like the Saxon and Scottish stones, was dumb.

What the enthroning was to the pagan the anointing was to the Christian; in each case an external physical method whereby the Spirit of the Creator entered into a human body, which thus became endued with the life-giving power of God. That human being was then both Man and God; Man with all the desires, limitations and frailties of humanity, God in His power of bringing life in all its aspects into the world.

[1] Sir H. M. Elliot, *History of India*, iv, p. 260.

[2] *Anglo-Saxon Chron.*, p. 375.

[3] Henry of Huntingdon, p. 169.

[4] Higden, *Polycronicon*, lib. vi, cap. viii, fo. 306. a

[5] *Anglo-Saxon Chron.*, p. 387.

[6] The meaning of the name Lia Fail is not known. All that is recorded of the stone is that it 'roared under the feet of each king that took possession of (the throne of) Ireland'. The Lia Fail is clearly not the same as the Scottish stone, which has no record of making any sound, but remains undramatically silent at all coronations.

The rite of anointing is sometimes explained in this way: as in the Eucharist the Bread and Wine are the material means by which the worshipper enters into physical communion with the Second Person of the Trinity, so in the anointing the sacred oil is the material means by which the Third Person of the Trinity enters into the king and endows him with the creative power of the Almighty.

Long before the Christian era the theory of the Divine Scapegoat had been formulated, that belief in the Divine Man who died for his people and on whom the Lord had laid the iniquity of them all. Therefore when the chosen man came to be deified, whether by enthroning or by anointing, he came not only as king but as the appointed victim. For this reason he was stripped of even the humblest trapping, and stood there alone as the Man in the presence of his Creator, ready to die that his people might live. Originally he was anointed on the salient parts of the body, the crown of the head, the seven openings of the head, the shoulders, the nipples, the navel, the genetalia, the knees, the insteps, the soles, the buttocks, the shoulder blades, the elbows, the wrists, and the palms. Thus he was dedicated in every part of the body, and by analogy in heart and soul, to the service of God and his people. The anointing over, all the attendants fell back, and left him standing alone, a man naked and anointed, Ecce Homo, Christus Domini, the very Christ Himself. This was the great moment of the whole ceremony, the mystical union of the Divine and the Human, of God and Man.[1]

After the anointing came the robing, the enthroning, and finally the crowning, when as king with sceptre in hand,

[1] The foreign evidence indicates that in early times the king was completely stripped. Thus Charlemagne was anointed 'from head to foot'. (Theophanes, *Chronographia*.) In later times the French modified the custom and confined the anointing to the upper part of the body only, the holy oil being then applied to (*a*) the crown of the head, (*b*) the chest, (*c*) the back between the shoulders, (*d*) the right shoulder, (*e*) the left shoulder, (*f*) the bend of each arm, (*g*) the hands. (H. N. Williams, *The Brood of False Lorraine*, p. 87, note 1.) In modern times the Tsar was anointed on the seven openings of the head—eyes, ears, nostrils, and mouth—on the forehead, the breast, and both sides of the hands. After each anointing the Archbishops says, 'The Seal of the gift of the Holy Ghost.' (R. M. Woolley, *Coronation Rites*, p. 29.)

crowned and enthroned, amid all the pomp and glory of the world, his subjects knelt at his feet, offering him their homage and fealty. Yet though he had reached the peak of human glory, he himself knew, and his people knew, that under all that worldly magnificence and splendour he remained the Man appointed to die as the Divine Victim. It was this dedication that made the king different from all other men in the eyes of his subjects, for he was to them the living example of that sublime ideal, the sacrifice of self for others.

The feeling towards an anointed, and therefore divine, king is expressed by many authors. Pierre de Blois, writing in the reign of Henry II, says, 'Je l'avoue, assister le roi, c'est (pour un clerc) accomplir une chose sainte, car le roi est saint; il est le Christ du Seigneur; ce n'est pas en vain qu'l a recu la sacrement de l'onction, dont l'efficacite, si par hasard quelqu'un l'ignorait ou la mettait en doute, serait amplement demontree par la disperition de cette peste qui s'attaque a l'aine et par la guerison des ecrouelles.'[1]

An interesting example of the importance of the anointing is found in the case of king John, for after 'the court of French peers had condemned him as a false vassal of the French king, at that moment the pope laid it down that John, as an anointed king, was greater than the peers, and therefore could not be tried by them'.[2]

Seeing how important a place the anointing held in the minds of the people, the nobles, the clergy and the king himself, it is possible to understand some of the unpopularity of the Lollards who professed, among other articles of belief, that the unction of kings ceased at the coming of Christ.[3]

'There appears to be sufficient evidence that the rite of anointing can be traced higher with respect to the kings and princes of England, than of any other country,'[4] for the Christian missionaries made the anointing rather than the enthroning the essential part of the ceremony. Details of the early anointings are wanting; judging, however, by the

[1] Bloch, *Rois Thaumaturges*, p. 41.
[2] Ibid., p. 127.
[3] Spotswood, p. 60.
[4] Maskell, *Monimenta*, ii, p. viii.

survivals it is clear that the early rite was as primitive as the enthroning.

Geoffrey of Monmouth professes to give an account of the earliest coronation, that of king Arthur; it contains much of traditional interest but entirely omits all mention of the rites of either anointing or enthroning. 'When all were assembled together in the city, upon the day of the solemnity, the archbishops were conducted to the palace, in order to place the crown on the king's head. Thereupon Dubricius, inasmuch as the court was kept in his diocese, made himself ready to celebrate the office, and undertook the ordering of whatever related to it. As soon as the king was invested with his royal habiliments he was conducted with great pomp to the metropolitan church, supported on each side by two archbishops, and having four kings, viz. of Albania, Cornwall, Demetia, and Vendotia, whose right it was, bearing four golden swords before him. He was also attended with a concert of all sorts of music, which made most excellent harmony. On another part was the queen, dressed out in her richest ornaments, conducted by the archbishops and bishops to the Temple of the Virgins; the four queens also of the kings last mentioned, bearing before her four white doves according to ancient custom; and after her there followed a retinue of women, making all imaginable demonstrations of joy. When the whole procession was ended, so transporting was the harmony of the musical instruments and voices, whereof there was a vast variety in both churches, that the knights who attended were in doubt which to prefer, and therefore crowded from the one to the other by turns, and were far from being tired with the solemnity, though the whole day had been spent in it. At last, when divine service was over at both churches, the king and queen put off their crowns, and putting on their lighter ornaments, went to the banquet; he to one palace with the men and she to another with the women. For the Britons still observed the ancient custom of Troy, by which the men and women used to celebrate their festivals apart.'[1]

The pontifical of Egbert, archbishop of York (A.D. 750–66) is the earliest official Order of Coronation, and here the

[1] Geoffrey of Monmouth, bk. ix, ch. 13, p. 243.

enthroning appears to be entirely omitted. The essential portion of the service consists of seven prayers with appropriate hymns and manual acts:

1. Prayer beginning *Te invocamus.*
2. Prayer beginning *Deus qui populis tuis.*
3. Prayer beginning *Deus electorum fortitudo.* This is the consecration prayer, and while one bishop said it, all the other bishops anointed the king on the head. During the unction the anthem *Unxerunt Salmonem* and the psalm *Benedic Domine in vertute tua* were sung.
4. A series of fifteen benedictions, said probably by different bishops following the delivery of the Sceptre to the king. The prayer beginning *Benedic Domine hanc praesulem.*
5. The Verge or baculus was delivered to the king with the form, *Omnipotens det tibi Deus de rore caeli.*
6. The Crowning. All the bishops set the Crown on the king's head with the prayer, *Benedic Domine fortitudinem regis.* The people immediately acclaimed the king with the cry, *Vivat Rex N. in sempiternum*, and the nobles saluted him with a kiss.
7. The last prayer beginning *Deus perpetuitatis auctor.*[1]

Edward the Confessor was anointed king by the two archbishops and nearly all the bishops of England,[2] but Harold clearly returned to the old custom of enthroning as well as anointing. 'Harold, son of earl Godwin, whom before his decease the king had appointed his successor, was elevated to the throne by all the chief men of the land, and was on the same day, with due honour, consecrated king by Aldred, the archbishop of York.'[3] The word 'elevated' is here to be taken in its literal sense, that Harold was bodily lifted on the throne by the chiefs, for the ceremony took place as a separate ritual unconnected with Christianity.

The coronation of Richard I is generally taken as the first complete account of an English coronation. Though it is in fact far from complete, it shows that the enthronement had been relegated to so insignificant a place as not to be mentioned, though the king was still stripped, but not completely,

[1] R. M. Woolley, *Coronation Rites*, pp. 60–1.
[2] Roger of Hoveden, i, p. 112.
[3] Ibid. p. 130.

for the anointing. A 'silken awning' was held over him throughout the ceremony. After taking the coronation oath, 'they stripped him of all his clothes, except his breeches and shirt, which had been ripped apart over his shoulders to receive the unction. He was then shod with sandals interwoven with gold thread, and Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury anointed him king in three places, namely, on his head, his shoulders, and his right arm, using prayers composed for the occasion.'[1] Then followed the robing, and crowning. It should be noted that in the so-called 'second Coronation' of Richard I, he was not anointed.[2]

On Richard's death John hastened to be installed with all due ceremony as duke of Normandy before returning to England to be crowned king. On his arrival in London the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons and all others, whose duty it was to be present at his coronation, assembled together in the church of the chief of the apostles at Westminster, and there Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, placed the crown on his head, and anointed him king.[3]

Henry IV's coronation is well recorded. 'In the procession to the church, the duke had borne over his head a rich canopy of blue silk, supported on silver staves, with four golden bells that rang at the corners, by four burgesses of Dover, who claimed it as their right.' At the anointing, 'the ceremony was performed by two archbishops and ten bishops: he was stripped of all his royal state before the altar, naked to his shirt, and was then anointed and consecrated at six places; that is to say, on the head, the breast, and the two shoulders before and behind, on the back and hands; they then placed a bonnet on his head; and while this was doing, the clergy chaunted the litany, or the service that is performed to hallow a font.'[4]

Henry VI's coronation is given in full detail. After the election, 'the kynge went unto the hyghe auter, and humely layde hym downe prostrate, hys hedde to the auter warde, longe tyme lyyng stylle. Thenne the arche-byscoppys and

[1] Roger of Wendover, ii, p. 79.
[2] Ibid., ii, p. 135.
[3] Ibid., ii, p. 181.
[4] Froissart, iv, pp. 670–1.

byschoppys stode rounde a-boute hym, and radde exercysyons ovyr hym, and many antemys i-song by note. And thenne the arche-byschoppes wente to hym and strypte hym owte of hys clothys in to hys schyrte. And there was yn hys schyrte a thynge lyke grene taffata, whyche was i-lasyd at iiij placys of hym. Thenne was he layde adowne a yenne, and helyd hym with hys owne clothys yn the same maner a-fore sayde. And then the Byschoppe of Chester and Rouchester songe a letany ovyr hym. And the arche-byschoppe of Cantyrbury redde many colettys ovyr hym. Thenne the Arche-byschoppys toke hym uppe a gayne and unlasyd hym, and a-noyntyd hym. Fyrste hys bryste and hys ij tetes, and the myddys of hys backe, and hys hedde, alle a-crosse hys ij schylders, hys ij elbowys, hys pamys of hys hondys; and thenne they layde a certayne softe thynge as cotton to alle the placys a-noyntyd. . . . Aftyr the oyntynge he layde hym doune prostrate a-gayne. Thenne the arche-byschoppys reddyn solempne colettys with a solempne prefas.' After this came the robing, the putting on of the sandals, and the crowning.[1]

Richard III's coronation has several points of interest, for the queen was crowned at the same time. It should be noted that both the king and queen went barefoot.

'The King and Queen coming out of the White hall to Westminster hall unto the King's bench all upon red cloth: And from the King's bench the King and the Queen going upon red cloth barefoot. And so they went until time they came unto St. Edward's shrine with his noble lords before him, both spiritual and temporal, every lord in his estate.

'In primis, first coming before, the trumpets & clarions, Sergeants at Arms and Heralds with the king's coat of armour on them. And then coming the Cross with a royal procession, first Priests with grey Amises and then Abbots and Bishops with mitres on their heads & crosses in their hands, and the Bishop of Rochester bare the Cross before the Cardinal. And then coming the Earl of Northumberland bearing the pointless sword before the king naked. The Lord Stanley bare the mace before the king. The Earl of Kent bare the second sword pointed on the right hand of the king. The Lord Lovell bare the third sword on the left hand of the king

[1] *Gregory's Chronicle*, pp. 165–6.

naked. Then coming the Duke of Suffolk bearing the king's sceptre. The Earl of Lincoln bare the cross with the ball. The Earl of Surrey bare the fourth sword within the scabbard before the king upright. Then coming the Duke of Norfolk bearing the king's crown betwixt his hands. And then following our Sovereign Lord KING RICHARD the Third, and over his head a cloth of estate borne with the five ports, and on each side of the king going a Bishop, the Bishop of Bath and the Bishop of Durham, and so the King going in his robes of purple velvet. There coming the Duke of Buckingham bearing the King's train with a white staff in his hands. And then coming before the Queen both Earls and Barons. The Earl of Huntingdon bare the queen's sceptre, the Viscount Lisle the rod with the dove upon. The Earl of Wiltshire bare the queen's crown. Then coming our Sovereign Lady the Queen, & over her head a cloth of estate and of every corner of the cloth a bell of gold; & on her head a circlet of gold with many precious stones set therein, & on every side the queen going a Bishop, the Bishop of Exeter and the Bishop of Norwich, And my Lady of Richmond bare the Queen's train. And my Lady of Suffolk going in her estate by herself alone, and on her head a circlet of gold. Then after her coming the Duchess of Norfolk with other Ladies to the number of twenty. Then after them coming Knights and Squires with many tipstaves.

'So going forth unto Saint Edward's shrine to the king's seat of estate. And when the King was set, anon coming forth before his highness both Priests and Clerks singing Latin and pricksong and there doing full Royal service, the which was ordained therefor. And when this service was done, the King and the Queen coming down from their seats of estate unto the high altar, and the King had great observance and service. And in the mean while that this service was doing the King and the Queen put off their robes and there stood all naked from the middle upwards, and anon the Bishop anointed both the King and the Queen, And when this was done, the King and Queen changed their robes into cloth of gold, and then the Cardinal crowned them both with great solemnity, and the organs went full shortly. And then the Bishop put upon the King Saint Edward's cope,

and then the Cardinal censed both the King and the Queen. And then the King took the cross with the ball in his right hand and the sceptre in his left hand, and anon the Priests and Clerks sang *Te Deum* with great royalty. And anon the Cardinal went to his mass, and the King and Queen went to their seats of estate. [While mass was being celebrated the King received the homage of the nobles and clergy.] And when mass was done, the King came up to Saint Edward's shrine and offered up Saint Edward's crown with many other relics. This done, the Lords set his own crown on his head, and anon the King and the Lords departed homewards, every lord in his estate according as they went out, saving in these points after written. The King bare the cross with the ball in his right hand the sceptre in his left hand, and the Duke of Norfolk bare the cap of Maintenance before the King, and the Queen bearing her sceptre in her right hand and the rod with the dove in the left hand. And so going forth till time they come to the high dais at Westminster hall, and as soon as they came there the King and the Queen took their chamber and the cloths of estate left still in the hall.' Then follows a description of the great feast.[1]

The *Little Device for the Coronation of King Henry the Seventh* gives a number of interesting details. The King wore, under his royal robes, two shirts and a coat of crimson satin. [After the Coronation Oath] 'the Cardinall kneling, and the king lying groveling afore the high aulter the said Cardinall shall begynne w$^{t}$ an high voyce the *Imme Veni Creator Spiritus*, etc. which Imme ended the same Cardinall shall say standing this oryson ouer the king: *Te Inuocamus*; and at the ende thereof kneling agayne etc. [Then follows a Litany by two bishops while the choir chants.] My Lorde Cardinall then standing at the high aulter shall sing w$^{t}$ open voice three tymes vt presentem famulum tuum. And at the ende thereof kneele again till the quere haue done singing Kyrie Eleyson. And then shall he rise and saye, *Dominus vobiscum* w$^{t}$ thes Orysons *Omnipotens Sempiterne Deus* etc. *Benedic Domine* etc. *Deus ineffabilis* etc. *Deus qui populis* etc. At thende whereof when it is comen vnto thes wordes *per Omnia Secula Seculorum*, he shall chaunge his voice, and sing

[1] Bentley, *Excerpta*, pp. 380–2. Spelling modernized.

them in prelate wise vnto thes wordes *Per Christum Dominum nostrum*, which wordes shalbe said in a bace voice. Thes orisons being ended, the king that all this while hath Lyen groveling, shall rise and sit in the Chaire before the Cardinall. In the w^ch^ Chaire after he hath somewhat rested himself he shall rise and go vp to the high aulter susteinit w^t^ the saide Busshops, where as the king shall be vnarayed and vnclothed by his chamberlain into his cote of Crymsen Satten largely openid as the shirtes be, which all thre cotes and ij shirtes, shalbe openid afore and behinde on the shulders and the Elbowes by the said Cardinall, to thintent that in thes places he maye be anoynted. And whiles he is anoynted S^r^ Thomas Montgomery, and S^r^ Thomas Burgh bene appointed for to holde a pall ouer him, and first the said Cardinall sitting, shall anoynte the king kneelyng w^t^ quisshions w^t^ holie oyle in the palmes of his bodie and his handes. Seying thes wordes, Vngatur manus w^t^ this collect *Respice omnipotens Deus*, etc. The Quere singing in the meane tyme and contynually whiles the king is anoynting, *Vngerunt Regem* etc. and the Psalme, *Domine in virtute tua letabitur Rex* etc. vntill he hath anoynted the king of the same oyle on his two brestes,[1] in the middes of his back, on his twoo shulders, on his two elbowes and on his head w^t^ the said oyle making a crosse, and afterwarde making an other crosse w^t^ the holie creyme on his heade, after thende of the said Collect saying to euery place to be anoynted wordes convenyent, as in example to the heade thes wordes, Vngatur Caput, And to the shulders Vngantur Scapule etc. And it is to be remembred that thabbot of westm^r^ after the kings anoynting, shall drye all the places of the bodie, where he was anoynted w^t^ some Coton or lynnen clothe, which is to be brent, and forthw^t^ close and Lace again the openinges of the kinges said shirtes and cotes, putting on the kinges handes a paire of lynnen gloues to be brought thither by his said Chamberlain etc. Then shall the said Cardinall say thes Orysons, *Deus Dei filius et Deus qui est Justorum*. This done the king shall rise. [Then follows the robing.][2]

The order for the coronation of Henry VII's queen is also

[1] Variant: 'on his ij teetes'.

[2] Legg, *Cor. Rec.*, pp. 231–2.

given in full detail. It begins with the procession from the Tower to Westminster: 'As for hir array of hir body, she muste haue a sircott of whit damaske, or of whit clothe of gold, w^t^ a mantelle of the same poudred w^t^ ermyne; she must haue a riche pursene about hir neke, w^t^ iij labelles y^t^ muste hynge doun vpon hir bake w^t^ the trayne; then her hed must be discheuellid w^t^ a riche sercle on her hed . . . she shall be bar-haudid and bare-visagid till she com to Westm^r^. . . . [On coming to Whitehall] there she to stond barefotid, and iiij yomen to bere ray-clothe in there armes, goinge befor hir, and spred the clothe vpon the ground vnder hir feet till she com doun to the crosse foot of our Lady chapelle dore; and y^t^ to be a cart w^t^ ray clothe goinge vp before hyre till she com to the abbey chirche dore, w^t^ yomen pulling it out of the cart to lay it on the ground before hire; And when she comythe to the abbey chirche dore, the yomen to take the clothe in y^r^ armes, to lay it vnder hir feet till she com to the scafold doun to the highe auctere; and then the Quene to knele doun to [till] the bischope haue said his servis ouer hir & anoyntid hir vpon the bake on the first, and on the hed; and the bischope to sett the crown on hir hed; the abbot to take hir here septure and hir verge in hir hand; then take ij dukes to led hir vp into hir scafold, and sett hir in hire chaire. . . . And when the messe is done, to com to the highe auctere, and there to be houssild; and that done, to go in to a closet, and the abbot to put Saint Edward's puyssons on hir feet; and that done, the lordes to led hire to hire chamber.'[1]

The account of Edward VI's coronation suggests that he was completely stripped for the anointing, though it is definitely stated that he 'was made ready of new garments'. 'His Grace was anointed in the breast, his soles of his feet, his elbowes, his wrists of his hands, and his crown of his head, with virtuous prayers said by the Bishop of Canterbury and sung by the choir. Then soon after this, a goodly fair cloth of red tinsel gold was hung over his head; and my Lord of Canterbury, kneeling on his knees, and his Grace lying prostrate afore the alter, anointed his back.'[2] The

[1] Grose, *Antiq. Rep.* i, pp. 302–4.

[2] Strype, *Archbishop Cranmer*, i, pp. 203–5, quoting from a MS. in Benet (Corpus Christi) College, Cambridge.

homage was paid by kissing the King's right foot and then swearing allegiance.

The coronation of the two queens regnant must have made a considerable difference in the form of anointing, for in the later coronations there seems to be less stripping of the royal personages, and what was done was more or less in private. Sir Symonds D'Ewes, writing to his friend Sir Martin Stuteville in 1626, says, 'Then followed his Majesties coronation, wheere because the putting on of his crimson shirte, the anointing of his naked shoulders, armes, hands, and head, were *arcana*, a traverse was drawen, and I dare say boldlie few moore single persons then ther woere thousands within the church saw it.'[1]

The coronation service of Charles I has the peculiar interest that it was specially arranged by Laud, and that one of the accusations against the archbishop at his trial was that he had altered the early form and incorporated much that was not warranted by Scripture. Though the wording of one of the prayers at the anointing is certainly different from any in the previous services, the belief in the sanctity of the oil and its power to confer certain qualities is manifest. After referring to the Flood and the dove with the olive branch, the prayer continues, 'Thou didst consecrate thy servant Aaron a priest by the anointing of Oil, and afterwards by the effusion of Oil didst make Kings and Prophets, and by the voice of the Prophet David didst foretell that the Countenance of the Church should be made Cheerful with Oil: We beseech thee, Almighty Father, that by the fatness of this Creature thou wilt vouchsafe to bless and sanctify thy servant Charles, that in the simplicity of a dove he may Minister peace unto his People, that he may imitate Aaron in the service of God: That he may attain the perfection of Government, in Council and Judgment: And that by the anointing of this Oil, thou mayest give him a Countenance always Cheerful and amiable to the whole people.'[2]

The Dew-of-heaven prayer was considerably altered: 'Look down, Almighty God, with thy favourable Countenance upon this glorious King. We beseech thee with thy power to

[1] D'Ewes, *Autobiography*, ii, p. 176.

[2] Legg, *Cor. Rec.*, p. 257.

water him plentifully with the blessings of thy grace. Give unto him the dew of Heaven, and of the fatness of the Earth; abundance of Corn, Wine and oil, and plenty of all the Fruits of thy goodness, long to continue. That in his time there may be health in our Country; and peace in our Kingdom; and that the glorious dignity of his royal court may brightly shine as a most clear Lightening far and near in the eyes of all men.' Both these prayers come before the anointing but in two prayers which come directly after the rite, the power of the oil appears to have been taken literally. 'God, the son of God, Christ Jesus our only Lord, who is anointed with the oil of gladness above his fellows, he by this holy anointing pour down upon his head the blessing of the holy Ghost, and make it enter into the bowels of thy heart, so that by this visible gift thou mayest receive invisible grace, and having justly executed the government of this temporal Kingdom, thou mayest reign with him eternally.' In the second of these prayers, the references to the oil is brief: 'Kindle, O Lord, his heart with love of thy grace by that holy Oil, wherewith thou hast anointed him, that he loving Justice, and leading his people by the ways of righteousness, after the glorious Course of this life which thou hast appointed, he may come to thy eternal joy.'[1]

For use in a ceremony so mysterious and awe-inspiring the oil itself was of the utmost importance. Two legends have survived showing that it was believed that the original oil came direct from God. The earliest of the two concerns Clovis. 'There was an holy bishop that turned Clovis the king of France to Christian faith, and when the king was come to be christened at the font-hallowing was so great press that the bishop's clerk, the which bare the crismatory, might in no way bring it to the bishop. Then when the font was hallowed and he was come to the anointing with cream and oil he might not come thereto. He lift up his eyes to god praying him devoutly of help. Then therewith came flying down a dove as white as milk, and that was the holy ghost, bearing in her bill a vial full of cream to the bishop, and when he opened the vial there came out so sweet a smell that all the people had great wonder thereof, and were greatly

[1] Legg, *Cor. Rec.*, p. 258.

comforted thereby.'[1] Though the holy oil is here described as being used at the baptism of Clovis, in the course of centuries it came to be the special vehicle for the enduing of the king with the Spirit of God. Gilles de Rais brought this same holy oil in its golden ampulla to Rheims, and clattered up the aisle of the cathedral in full armour on his armoured horse to present the sacred vial to the archbishop at the coronation of Charles VII, while Joan of Arc stood by and watched the ceremony.

The second legend is entirely English, and by its content suggests that it was invented to smooth the way of Henry IV when he drove out Richard II and usurped the throne. It describes the finding of the precious vial by Richard and the prophecy concerning the kings who were to come. 'Thenne wente the king in to the tour of Londoun, and baar out therof all the precious iewels that his predecessours hadde put there to be kept; and among othir thyngis, he fond there an egle of gold, and withynne the egle a violle of stoone closid, with a writyng aboute; the whiche writyng saide that our lady delyurid that egle and the violle to Sainte Thomas of Cauntirbury whiles he was exilid, and saide to him that with the oille that was in the violle, the gode kyngis of Englond that sholde come aftirward sholde be annoynted; and on of the kyngis sholde gete agayn all the lond that his auncestrie hadde lost withoute strengthe; and he sholde be grettist of alle kyngis, and he sholde bilde many churchis in the holi land, and sholde driue alle the paynemes out of Babiloun, and there he shal make many chirchis, and as ofte as he berith the said egle on his brest he shal haue the victory of his enemies, and his kyngdom shal evir encrece; and this oynement shalbe founde in couenable tyme; and the egle baar king Richard alway aboute his necke.'[2] Henry IV and his successors were all anointed with this sacred oil. Henry VI 'after the seventh year of his age, with the consent of all his people, God ordained to be solemnly crowned and anointed, not with common holy oil, but with oil foreordained by the Lord to anoint him withal, which his kind

[1] *Liber festialis: Vigil of Pentecost* (Caxton's translation, 1483). Spelling modernized.

[2] *An English Chronicle*, p. 14.

patroness the blessed Virgin Mary delivered to St. Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury in the phial which even till now is most carefully preserved in the keeping of the same most Christian King Henry.'[1] The last of the English monarchs to be anointed with this heavenly oil was queen Elizabeth, the oil 'was then either exhausted or had become unfit for further use'.[2] It would seem that after Elizabeth the special oil had to be hallowed for each successive coronation. The blessing used for the sacring of the oil for Charles I's coronation is still extant: *This Oyle the King's phisicians prepared for the Anoynting of King Charles the first. And the Lord Bop of St. David's hallowed it.*

'Bless, O Lord, we beseech thee, this oil, with which thy faithful servant, Charles, our king is to be anointed, that sanctified by the Spirit it may by thy grace be profitable unto him; so that living in all favour before thee, and in all happiness before men, he may become thine Anointed, above his fellows, and all other Christian kings.'[3]

The recipe for the consecrated oil used at the coronation of James II shows that it was highly perfumed, perhaps in remembrance of the holy oil brought from heaven for the baptism of Clovis, which when the vial was opened 'there came out so sweet a smell that all the people had great wonder thereof'.[4] For James II the archbishop had to perform the actual consecration of the oil, 'setting it upon the Altar at Westminster, but the oil is to be prepared by the King's physicians. That for Ch. I was thus: Florum Aurantiorum, and Jasimini, per Infusionem in Oleo Been preparati (quale ex Hispania affertur) ana ℥vj, Oleo stillatitij Rosarum ℥s, Olei Cinam: stillat. ℥ii. Florum Benzoini non adustorum, in Arenâ per Cophinum Chartaceum extractorum ℥i Ambroeigriseae ℥iiii. Moschi ℥ii. Zibeltae ℥i. Misce in Porphyrite, mox in porcellanâ super cineres tepidos. Adde Spirit. Rosar-

[1] Bouchet, *Annales d'Aquitaine*, pt. iii, folio lvvi (ed. 1535). Fortescue, *De Titulo Edwardi Comitis Marchiae*, i, p. 70. The oil was said to have been first brought to England by Duke John of Brabant for the coronation of Edward II, but not used; it was lost but found again in time for the coronation of Richard II; but was first used for Henry IV's coronation.

[2] R. Woolley, *Coronation Rites*, p. 73.

[3] Legg, *Cor. Rec.*, p. 246.

[4] See p. 167 for anointing of foreign kings.

um ℥s. Fiat Unguentum. The King saith, this is S^r Theod. Mayhern's Receit.'[1]

The sceptre seems to have taken its origin in a staff for use; a staff which could be employed in managing animals or in directing or chastising servants and slaves. Hence it would soon become emblematic of power. It is perhaps significant that from very early times in Egypt the hieroglyphic symbol of a ruler is a staff, while every male deity is represented carrying a staff. As in all ancient countries the ruler was credited with magical, i.e. divine, power, everything that betokened his royal estate was endowed with the same quality. It is therefore permissible to equate the royal sceptre with the magician's rod, the witch's staff, and the fairy's wand,[2] though all these three had only a limited and circumscribed power, confined chiefly to changing the outward aspect of human beings and animals. The royal sceptre, however, belonging as it did to the God himself, was endowed with far greater powers than the puny rods and staves of mere mortals. It could even on occasion represent the king himself, when for example the touching of the roll of an Act of Parliament by the sceptre was equivalent to the royal assent. In the coronation rite the king received the sceptre only after he had been anointed and enthroned, in other words, when by means of both the Pagan and Christian rites he was truly king and Life-Giver.

The Canopy, though of comparatively late introduction, is one of the methods by which the divinity of the king is emphasized. At first it was used only at the anointing, and the privilege of holding it over the king at the actual sacring was fiercely claimed by those who had a right to it. The use of a canopy to cover the object in which the Deity resides can be seen even at the present day when the Host is carried through the streets, and it is still accounted a privilege to be one of the bearers of that special covering.[3] Wriothesley re-

[1] Legg, *Cor. Rec.*, p. 289. Sir Theodore Mayerne was James I's private physician, the most celebrated physician of his time.

[2] Cp. the healing qualities of Elisha's staff (2 Kings iv, 29, 31), and the fertility qualities of the rod (Micah vii, 14).

[3] When Henry V died at Bois de Vincennes his body had to be brought to England for burial. 'Shortly after his departing his entrails were interred in the church of Saint-Maur-des-Fosses, and his corpse well embalmed and

ports the carrying of the Host under a canopy in the reign of Henry VIII, on Corpus Christi day in 1536 'the Deane of the Kings Chapell, in a rich robe and mytred, bearing the sacrament of the alter, the sub-deacon bearing it with him also, under a rich canopie of cloath of gold'.[1] On 13th June 1546, peace with France was proclaimed, and a great procession passed through the streets to celebrate the fact: 'the bishopp of London bearing the sacrament of the alter under a rych canopie, bareheaded, his crosse and miter borne afore him, with fower great branches of waxe and tow torches, going about the sacrament.'[2]

The canopy could also be carried over the head of a queen, but in that case it was sometimes not carried by men, but was fixed over her head. When Anne Boleyn made her processional ride through the City of London preparatory to her coronation, 'she herself riding in a rytch chariott covered with cloath of silver, and a rich canapie of cloath of silver borne over her heade by the fower Lordes of the Portes, in gownes of scarlett'.[3] But when Jane Seymour took her seat as queen the canopy was not carried but was fixed over the seat, 'she was brought to White Hall, by Westminster, and their sett in the Queen's seate under the canapie of estate royall'.[4] The difference in this respect between the two queens is very marked, and suggests that Anne was already recognized as the destined substitute, hence regarded as divine, while Jane was merely the king's wife and only human. The whole of Anne's coronation ceremony bears out this suggestion, for she was consecrated as a queen regnant and not as a queen consort. Henry was not present at any part of the proceedings, Anne was alone, the central figure

sealed was enclosed in a circle (cercueil) of lead.' The body was conveyed in a chariot, a figure in likeness of the king lying on the coffin. On passing through any town 'a canopy of marvellous great value, such as is used to be borne over the blessed Sacrament on Corpus Christi day was borne over the Chariot by men of great worship'. As the anointed king was the Christus Domini, his body was the literal Corpus Christi, and was honoured in the same way. *The First English Life*, pp. 182, 183. Spelling modernized.

[1] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, i, p. 48.

[2] Ibid., i, p. 164.

[3] Ibid., i, p. 19.

[4] Ibid., i, p. 43.

from the time when she started on a processional ride through the city, when she entered the abbey 'she herself going under a rytch canapie of cloath of gold',[1] when she was anointed and crowned, when she left the abbey, 'she going still under the cannapie crowned with towe septers in her handes,'[2] and finally when she presided at the great ceremonial banquet.

That the canopy served some definitely mystical purpose in the sacring of the king is shown by the explanation, 'His Majesties Port Canopie signifies a covering to us all',[3] under which presumably the king could shelter his subjects from danger. In itself it was merely a cloth (usually cloth of gold) held high on poles above the sacred person or object, the sides being open so that the view of the holy person or thing was not obstructed for the spectators. It was not intended to afford privacy like the 'traverse' mentioned by Sir Symonds d'Ewes (p. 177). Its origin and actual meaning are, however, still obscure.

The importance of the crown itself appears to increase with the passing of the centuries. Originally the throne was of the first importance; then the anointing was the chief event in the sacring and installation of the king; and it was not till comparatively modern times that the crown became synonomous with the king and the kingship. It is obvious that there must have always been some object worn by the Divine Man to show his sanctity; some object which would catch the eye and which was worn in a conspicuous place, on the head or on the breast. The head would be the more convenient as the object could then be seen from the back and sides as well as the front. The metal crown or fillet appears to have begun in the Middle Bronze Age, and to have been used with the special form of cloth head-dress or turban which was the sign of Divine Royalty in ancient Egypt. The actual crowning has always in England been the final act of the whole ceremony of the Coronation. It shows forth to all beholders that the man who wears it has been sanctified and made divine. It is for the same purpose as a woman's

[1] Wriothesley *Chronicle.*, i, p. 20.
[2] Ibid., i, p. 20.
[3] Burney, *Kerd. Dor.*, B3.

wedding ring, showing that a certain ceremony has been performed over the wearer. As the crown indicates that the ceremony was one of peculiar sanctity, it was in itself sacred, and was only worn on great occasions, as on the three chief religious feasts of the Christian Church, Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide. This suggests that the king then showed himself as the God, those three occasions being the times when, according to Christian belief, God has manifested Himself most clearly to the world.

The coronation banquet, which closed the ceremony, was as marked a feature of the whole rite as the enthroning and anointing, for by its lavish display it showed the king as the Giver of Food. The chroniclers revel in their accounts of the splendour of the scene and the extravagant amount of food, which they describe with the utmost care and detail. In every case it was the actual amount of the food which caused their admiration, for they were depicting, perhaps unconsciously, the power of the Life-giver. In the small local celebrations of the ritual of the Dianic Cult, it was the Divine Man (whom the Christians stigmatized as the 'Devil') who provided the feast and presided over it himself. At these local feasts the Giver of the food was acknowledged as God by his worshippers. 'And when we had ended eating, we looked steadfastly to the Devil, and bowing ourselves to him, we said, to the Devil, We thank thee, our Lord, for this.'[1]

There are two details in the Coronation Service which show clearly the early belief in the life-giving power of the king as God. The hymn that is sung as the ceremony of the anointing begins, starts with the words *Veni Creator Spiritus*. The words have now been transformed into *Come, Holy Ghost*, which convey an entirely different meaning. Originally however, it was a direct invocation to the creative Power to come to the king. Again, one of the prayers shows the same belief in the life-giving fertilizing power of the king obtained by the ceremony of anointing. In this prayer the reference to grapes and wine indicate that the wording at least was influenced by the Bible, but the belief underlying the words is essentially of the Old Religion. I give two examples of the prayer, the earliest and one of the later type. In the

[1] Pitcairn, iii, p. 613.

*First English Coronation Order* the prayer runs: Almighty God give thee of the dew of heaven and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine; let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee; be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee; blessed be he that blesseth thee, and God shall help thee, and the Almighty shall bless thee with the blessings of heaven above, on the mountains, and on the hills, blessings of the deep that lieth under, blessings of the breasts,[1] and of grapes and fruit; blessings of the fathers of old, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob shall be upon thy head.'[2] The version used at the coronation of Charles I is practically the same, though less beautifully expressed: 'Almighty God give thee the dew of Heaven, and the fat of the Earth, and abundance of Corn and Wine. Let all the Nations serve thee, and the Tribes adore thee, and God shall be thy helper. Almighty God bless thee with the blessing of Heaven above, the Mountains and the Hills, and with the blessing of the earth beneath, with the blessing of Corn, and Wine, and Fruit; and let the blessing of the Old Fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob be established upon thee.'[3]

[1] In the *First English Coronation Order* the word is *uberum*, *in Leofric* the words are *Uberum et vulve*. Legg, *Cor. Rec.* p. 21, note 10.

[2] Legg, *Cor. Rec.*, p. 11.

[3] Ibid., p. 270.

Chapter Seven

# THE COVEN OF THIRTEEN

*Ther ar threttein persons in ilk Coeven.*
*Trial of Isobel Gowdie*, Pitcairn, iii, pp. 603–17.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives 1500–20 as the earliest date for the word Coven, and then only from a Scottish source, the author Dunbar. But it was common in England as early as 1330,[1] a century and a half before it appeared in Scotland. The word in the English use denotes a group of thirteen persons, one of whom was the leader, bound together by some form of oath to effect some definite purpose.

In its religious aspect the group consisted of the Incarnate God and his twelve disciples, i.e. the priests and priestesses of the cult. In theory these twelve persons were chosen at the will of the Master, to whom they devoted themselves body and soul, whom they obeyed with blind obedience, and for whom they were willing to die. In the royal covens the group consisted of the king and his councillors, the king being regarded as the God Incarnate. A member of a royal coven could, however, become the chief of a coven drawn from folk of a slightly lesser rank than himself; these again could be chiefs of other covens, gradually descending in scale till the village coven is reached. Such a system gave the king, as the grandmaster of all the covens, immense political power, as long as all the members of the royal coven were loyal; but it gave equal power to any ambitious member who was not true to his oath.

The village covens, as disclosed in the witch trials of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, give the clue to the organization of the coven-system, though in its decadent form.

[1] See Appendix 7a, pp. 253-4.

In the earlier centuries the organization into groups of thirteen for secular purposes is strongly marked. The custom, as well as the name, fell out of use, perhaps from being associated with witches and with gangs of men addicted to violence. One of the last survivals of the royal coven, slightly altered but still in force, can be seen in our legal system, for a man is tried by a judge, representing the king, and by twelve jurors.

In connection with the coven, it must always be remembered that thirteen is not a serial number, but is in essence one and twelve. The ill luck supposed to be attached to the serial number, such as the day of the month or the number of a house, is comparatively modern. The origin of the superstition lies in the fact that the chief himself, or his substitute among the members, was marked for death at the end of a set period, a death that was inflicted without respite when the time came.

There is no explanation as to why thirteen was the number chosen. It may be objected that any uneven number, e.g. seven or nine, would be as effective on a council as thirteen, but the fact remains that thirteen was not only the prevailing number in all practices connected with the king, but that it was almost invariable on all great and solemn occasions.

The use of thirteen in connection with God is early in the history of the Mediterranean civilization. The earliest record is in Egypt in the fifteenth century B.C. when the god Amon of Thebes consulted his council of twelve deities as to the woman he should choose to be the mother of his child.[1] As the record also shows that on this occasion Amon was in reality the Pharaoh, it would seem that the members of his council were also human beings, masquerading for the moment as deities. Considering also the great importance attached to numbers in all ancient religions, it can hardly be supposed that on so momentous an occasion the number thirteen was accidental. The use of thirteen in connection with a chief is known in Europe in pre-Christian times. The legendary Romulus was always accompanied by twelve

[1] Breasted, *Ancient Records*, ii, pp. 187–220; Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, ii, p. 46.

companions, usually called *lictors*, though there is no proof that they were merely guards. In the same way Hrolf, the Danish hero, had his twelve berserks. It is, then, quite possible that the Gospels record a traditional group when describing how Christ summoned to himself twelve special companions out of the numbers who followed him. This would also account for the anxious haste with which Iscariot's vacant place in the group was so promptly filled.[1] Also the Gospel record as expounded by priestly and monkish advisers would not account for the universality of the coven of thirteen in all classes of society, from the highest to the lowest, and that the system was even applied to birds; e.g. the twelve peers of France—six ecclesiastical and six secular—who formed the council of the French king,[2] and Giraldus Cambrensis writes of the birds of St. Colman, 'they are always thirteen in number, as if they formed the society of a convent'.[3]

It can hardly be by accident that our ancient cathedrals should also exhibit the number thirteen. It might have been expected that the Biblical example of the Seven Churches of the Book of Revelation would be followed by the Christians rather than the Pagan number of thirteen; but even here the essence of the pagan number is preserved, and each coven of bishoprics with their respective cathedrals shows the pagan formation of one and twelve, the archbishopric set over twelve bishoprics.

The thirteen cathedrals of the Old Foundation were served by the secular clergy and were not affected by the reformation of Henry VIII:

1. Bangor
2. Chichester
3. Exeter
4. Hereford
5. Lichfield
6. Lincoln
7. Llandaff
8. London
9. St. Asaph
10. St. David
11. Salisbury
12. Wells

13. York

[1] Acts, i, 20–6.

[2] Adam of Usk, *Chronicle*, p. 286. See also Appendix 7a, p. 255.

[3] History of Ireland, book iii, ch. xxix, p. 93.

The thirteen cathedrals of monastic foundation were served by regular clergy or monks:

1. Bristol
2. Carlisle
3. Chester
4. Durham
5. Ely
6. Gloucester
7. Norwich
8. Oxford
9. Peterborough
10. Rochester
11. Winchester
12. Worcester
13. Canterbury[1]

Christian influence is, of course, to be expected in the confraternities of monks and friars, as when in 1221 'the Friers Preachers, thirteene in number, were sent into England'.[2] But a Christian prototype does not account for the prevalence of the number in secular matters, nor can it be by accident that it occurs so often in deeds of violence, particularly in the reigns of those kings who were murdered or whose lives were dramatically attempted. It seems also that the number thirteen was in secular cases used for both civil and military purposes in early times, but that it became progressively more and more associated with crimes of violence. It is possible that this aspect of the matter may be due to the better kept and larger number of records of the later periods; on the other hand, it may be that Christian ideals were penetrating into the lives of the people, and that in the end illegal bands of thirteen were used only for political and sordid crimes.

In the evidence given below I have brought forward, as far as the records permit, one example at least of the coven formation in every reign from Henry I to Charles II. As already noted, the whole aspect of the religious and political life of the people appears to change with the expulsion of James II and the coming of William III. The change probably began during the Civil War, for war, horrible and dreadful as it is, has a strangely cleansing effect, sweeping away old and worn out beliefs and customs and bringing in new ideas. Though the belief in the divinity of the king was lost to a great extent by the successive reigns of two queens, Mary

[1] Banister Fletcher, *Hist. Arch.*, p. 366.
[2] Stow, p. 178.

and Elizabeth, which together lasted for nearly two generations, the Scotch kings restored the belief among the immediate circle round the throne. This was not to be wondered at, for the Scots have preserved many of the old customs and beliefs which were then lost in England. The number thirteen played a large part in the life of James before he came to the English throne, though less afterwards; it is seen less in the reign of Charles I, and is progressively less in the reigns of his two sons, disappearing altogether under William III.

Although the thirteen group is clearly early, the records are somewhat scanty until the accession of the Plantagenet kings. The principal evidence comes from the reigns of the Plantagenet and Tudor monarchs.

The coven-formation was, however, in use under the Saxon kings for grants of land for both religious and secular purposes. In 657 King Wulfhere of Mercia made a deed of gift of land to endow the newly hallowed monastery of Medeshamsted (Peterborough). To ensure the legality of the deed a public assent to the gift was made by twenty-six persons who are named, and by the whole of the rest of the Witan, both ecclesiastical and lay, these not being named. Each of the named persons being apparently unable to write, signified his assent not only by word of mouth but 'afterwards subscribed it with his fingers on the cross of Christ'.[1] In the great Danish invasion in 870 the enemy 'came to Medeshamstede, and burned and beat it down, slew abbat and monks, and all that they found there. And that place, which before was full rich, they reduced to nothing'.[2] But a century later, in 972, in the reign of King Edgar, the energetic bishop of Winchester rebuilt the monastery, which Edgar endowed. The signatories to the document were thirteen in number, 'all signed it with the cross of Christ.'[3] Stow mentions a secular document of a grant of land in the reign of Edgar, but without giving the date. 'Edgar some time King of England graunted vnto. 13. knights a portion of ground without the walles of the city of London, left void

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. 321–4.
[2] Ibid., p. 352.
[3] Ibid., pp. 382, 383.

in the East part of the same city, together with a gilde which he named Knighten Gilde, that nowe is called Portsoken Ward.'[1]

In 1090 in the reign of Rufus, Glamorgan was conquered by a band of thirteen knights.[2]

In 1129 Henry I 'held a great council at London on the 1st August regarding the prohibition of priests having concubines. The council consisted of thirteen persons:

1. King Henry
2. William, archbishop of Canterbury
3. Thurston, archbishop of York
4. Alexander, bishop of Lincoln
5. Roger, bishop of Salisbury
6. Gilbert, bishop of London
7. John, bishop of Rochester
8. Siegfrid, bishop of Sussex
9. Godfrey, bishop of Bath
10. Simon, bishop of Worcester
11. Everard, bishop of Norwich
12. Bernard, bishop of St. David's
13. Hervey, first bishop of Ely

Henry had a wonderful capacity for seeing an opportunity for making money, and on this occasion he persuaded the bishops to give him sole jurisdiction in the matter and then 'received large sums of money from the priests for licence to live as before'.[3]

The anonymous author of the *Acts of King Stephen* is too much interested in the battles of that disastrous civil war to spend any time on the organization of the forces. In one place, however, he mentions the number of earls and barons who had joined themselves to the empress Matilda, whom he invariably calls the countess of Anjou, for as an ardent upholder of king Stephen he did not acknowledge her title to the throne. This occasion was immediately after Matilda and her army had been driven away from London and her ally the king of Scots had fled. With indomitable spirit the

[1] Stow, p. 138.
[2] Ibid., p. 129.
[3] Henry of Huntingdon, book vii, p. 257.

'countess' had made a lightning dash against Winchester, had chased the bishop out of his city, and was besieging his fortified palace. 'I think fit to give here a short account of those who, collecting their forces, joined the countess in this siege. . . . There were Robert, earl of Gloucester; Ranulf, earl of Chester; Baldwin, earl of Exeter; Reginald, bastard son of king Henry, and earl of Cornwall; Milo of Gloucester, who was now made earl of Hereford, to the satisfaction of all; Roger, earl of Warwick; William de Mohun, who was now made earl of Dorset; and also Botterel, earl of Britany. The barons were nowise inferior to the earls in faithfulness and merit, in courage and gallantry. There were Brian[1] mentioned before; John, surnamed the Marshal; Roger de Oleo; Roger de Nunant; William FitzAlan.'[2] Thus there were eight earls and five barons, thirteen in all.

In the reign of Henry II there are many examples of the existence of the Old Religion, not only in the occurrence of the sacrifice of the substitute for the Divine King but also in instances of the coven or bodies of thirteen persons. I quote only one; at the end of Henry's successful campaign in Ireland in 1171 thirteen Irish kings 'submitted themselves and theirs' to Henry in Dublin.[3]

In his account of the third crusade, Geoffrey de Vinsauf gives a description of the arrangement of the Christian army arrayed in battle order. Richard Coeur-de-Lion, who was the leader of the English and Normans, was the general in command, 'The Templars formed the first rank, and after them came in due order the Bretons and men of Anjou; then followed King Guy [of Jerusalem], with the men of Poictou; and in the fourth line were the Normans and English, who had the care of the royal standard; and last of all, marched the Hospitallers.' The author then proceeds to give the names of the English and Norman warriors: 'The earl of Leicester, Hugh de Gurnay, William de Borriz, Walkin de Ferrars, Roger de Toony, James D'Avennes, Robert count of Druell, the bishop of Beauvais, and William des Barres,

[1] This was Brian Fitz-Count, 'a man of illustrious descent and high dignity', who possessed a castle at Wallingford.

[2] *Acts of King Stephen*. See Henry of Huntingdon, p. 386.

[3] Stow, p. 152. See Appendix 7b, p. 255, for names.

his brother, William de Garlande, Drogo de Mirle. Henry, count of Champagne kept guard on the mountain side.'[1] It can hardly be an accident or coincidence that only thirteen names should be mentioned in this account. The Templars, the Hospitallers, the Bretons, and the men of Anjou, must have had leaders and other warriors of great distinction among them, but they are not named. It seems therefore that the number of thirteen names was intentional on the part of the writer, and had some significance to him and to his readers.

King John so roused the fury of the priestly recorders that his name has been handed down to posterity as the worst of men and of kings. Yet if unbiased investigations are made he appears as an extremely shrewd king, who managed to outwit the barons and the priests and obtain the affection of the common people. The legal gift of the kingdom to the pope was a master-stroke, checkmating the priesthood and the barons and making any resistance to him an offence against the Church; even Magna Carta curbed the power of the barons as much as that of the king. It is an interesting fact that in these two important events the coven-formation is most clearly seen. At Runnymede the number of the king's friends and supporters was thirteen.[2] The barons then appointed a council to assist the king in enforcing the laws of Magna Carta, the number of members of the council was twenty-five, which with the king made twenty-six or two covens.[3] The legal document conveying the kingdom of England to the Pope was signed by the king in the presence of thirteen persons.[4]

The long reign of Henry III shows more than one instance of the coven-formation extending to other classes than nobles or royalty. In 1238 there was a great riot at Oxford by the students against the papal legate, Octobone. The legate's brother was killed, and the legate himself, in fear of his life, 'gate him into the steeple of the Church, where he helde him till the Kinges officers comming from Abingdon conueyed

[1] *Chronicles of the Crusades*, p. 233.
[2] Chadwick, *King John*, p. 85.
[3] Ibid., p. 114.
[4] Roger of Wendover, ii, p. 269. See Appendix 7b, p. 255, for names.

him to Wallingforde where he accursed the misdoers. Odo de Kilkenny, as standart-bearer of the scollers, was taken with twelue other, & cast in prison, and long after went from S. Pauls church in London to the Legates house, which was Durham place, vngirded, without gowne, bare-headed and bare-footed, whereby they asked him forgiuenes, and then the legate restored them to their Uniuersities.'[1] Another instance of the organization into thirteen occurred in 1268 when 'variance fell betweene the fellowshipps of Goldsmithes and Taylors of London, causing great ruffling in the Citie, and many men to be slaine, for which riot thirteene of the Captaines were hanged'.[2] This is a peculiarly interesting record for it is one of the earliest occasions on which thirteen were executed out of a large number of accused persons. A similar execution took place in 1495 when thirteen of Perkin Warbeck's followers were hanged (see p. 120); and at the great witch-trial at Aberdeen in 1596, out of fifty-two persons, i.e. four covens, indicted for witchcraft thirteen only were executed.[3] In the first of these examples it is clear that Otho de Kilkenny was the leader of the coven, but in the Aberdeen trial, where the accused were tried for their religion and not for murder, the name of the chief was never divulged.

In this reign there are also two examples of the coven in connection with the king himself. In 1236 William, bishop-elect of Valence, uncle of Eleanor of Provence Henry III's queen, gained complete influence over the king, and it was believed that he and eleven others had formed themselves into a kind of secret council, and that the king had sworn to be guided by them.[4] The bishop and the eleven members of the council with the king make thirteen or one coven. Again in 1258, Henry appears to have tried to make himself absolute and was firmly resisted by the barons and Parliament. A council of twenty-four was appointed to restrain the royal prerogative and to restore order to the kingdom. The number as given officially is twenty-four, but the names of the per-

[1] Stow, p. 184.
[2] Ibid., p. 197.
[3] Murray, *Witch Cult*, p. 191.
[4] *Ann. Dunst.*, p. 144.

sonnel are twenty-five, which with the king make up two covens. Of these twelve members were nominated by the barons and thirteen by the king.[1]

The record shows that in the reign of Edward I the Old Religion was very active among the people, for a traitor to the God was put to death by the coven in the usual way by hanging. The fact that the execution was performed in a church indicates that the members were sufficiently powerful to use a Christian building for their own purposes. 'This year one Laurence Duket, a cytezyn of London, was found deed & hanged within seynt Mary Bowe churche of Chepe; for the whiche, enqueries were made. And lastely, for that dede were atteynted these .vii. persones folowyng: that is to saye, Reygnolde of Lancaster, Thomas Pynot, Paule of Stepyhith, Thomas Cordwayner, Iohn Tolanson, Thomas Russell & Robert Scot, the whiche were all for that ded drawyn & hanged: and a woman for the same dede was also brent, and Rauffe Crepyn, Iourdan Goodchepe, Gilbert Clerke, & Jeffery Clarke, were also atteynt for y^e^ same cause; but they were repryed, and sent vnto the Toure of London, where they remayned longe after, and lastly delyuered.'[2] As there were thirteen tried, it would seem that the whole coven was known and therefore easily arrested. As was customary among non-royal covens, there was one woman among the thirteen, the Maiden of the Coven.

The coven formation appears to have extended to military groups. At the battle of Evesham when it was clear that the day was lost, Simon de Montfort, his son Henry, and eleven other barons 'undertaking the stress of the Battel' were all killed.[3] This appears to be a coven who died with their chief.

In the reign of Henry VIII (1542) the question arose as to the homage due by the king of Scots to the king of England. It was then pointed out that the matter was settled in the time of Edward I in 1296, and at the same time the number of claimants to the Scottish throne is stated to have been

[1] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, ii, p. 81. For names see Appendix 7c, p. 256.

[2] Fabyan, p. 389. The anonymous author of the *Chronicle of London* gives the woman's name as Alyce, p. 31.

[3] Daniel, *Complete History*, p. 187.

thirteen, and the names are recorded. 'We haue the solempne act, iudiciall processe of our progenitour Edward the first in discussyon of the title of Scotland, when the same was chalenged by .xij. competitours; That is to say:

1. Florentinus comes Holandie
2. Patricius de Dūbar, comes de Merchia
3. Willielmus de Vesty
4. Willielmus de Ros
5. Robertus de Pinbeny
6. Nicholaus de Soules
7. Patricius Galightly
8. Rogerus de Mundeuille
9. Ioannes de Comyn
10. D. Ioannes de Hastinges
11. Ioannes de Balliolo
12. Robertus de Bruse
13. Ercius rex Norwegie'[1]

When, in 1318, Edward II had fallen so completely under the influence of the Despensers that the barons determined to make a drastic change in the government, they met together and appointed a council of twelve members to rule the kingdom under the king.[2] These, with the king as chief or grandmaster, make up one coven. But Edward was not prepared to accept such a council; he gathered his army together and defeated the forces under Mortimer, compelling that nobleman to surrender. Mortimer was sent as a prisoner to the Tower, from which he managed to escape later to France where he joined the queen's army. Three of the coven were killed in the battle of Boroughbridge (1322), the rest were taken prisoner and executed in the usual manner by hanging and quartering or beheading and quartering. Stow states, 'There were taken in the field Thomas, earle of Lancaster, with Lords, knights, and other to the number of 65.'[3] In other words, five covens. It can hardly be a coincidence that he should record also that Sir Andrew Herkeley sentenced

[1] Grafton, ii, p. 485.
[2] Fabyan (ed. 1811), p. 423. See Appendix 7c, p. 257, for names.
[3] Stow (ed. 1615), p. 220.

nineteen of the captives to be executed and seventy-two to be imprisoned,[1] making ninety-one in all, or seven covens.

The last scene of Edward's reign (1326) shows the coven-formation still in full force. The parliamentary committee sent to insist on and receive his abdication consisted of thirteen members, viz. three bishops, three earls, two abbots, two barons, two justices, and Sir Walter Trussell, the Procurator or Speaker of the parliament.[2] From the fact that Trussell is the only one named, it would seem that he was the chief of that coven.

In the reign of Edward III there occurs the most remarkable example of the coven in English history. This was the foundation of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. The well-known story of its foundation tells that at a royal feast the countess of Salisbury dropped her garter, that the lady was overcome with shame, and that to relieve her feelings of shocked modesty the king picked up the garter, fastened it on his own leg, saying, 'Honi soit qui mal y pense', and thereupon founded the Order of the Garter to signalize the event. In all probability the story is founded on fact, for the garter was the insignia of the chief 'Witch' or of the Grandmaster of the coven. The dropped garter was clear evidence that the lady held a high position in the organization of the Old Religion, and but for the quickness of the king the assembled ecclesiastics would have accused her of 'the damnable sin of witchcraft'. Edward not only saved her life but by his action, he publicly took upon himself the headship of the Old Religion, being already, as the Anointed of the Lord, accepted by the Christians as endued with the Spirit of God. He then conciliated the Church, as well as the pagans in their midst, by his great Order of the Garter, thus making the emblem of the Old Religion the badge of an organization essentially Christian in its ceremonial. The number of knights was twenty-six, twelve for the king and twelve for the prince of Wales; there were also twenty-six 'poor knights and thirteen canons.' So splendid was the Order that foreign monarchs were proud to belong to it. The feast was kept on St. George's Day, and was attended by the knights in their

[1] Stow, p. 220.

[2] Fabyan, pp. 430–1.

robes, the king's mantle being embroidered with one hundred and sixty-eight garters, which with the garter round his leg makes one hundred and sixty-nine, thirteen times thirteen, or thirteen covens. The collar of the knights has a design of twenty-six garters. In the reign of Edward IV (1475) 'at the feast of St. George the Knights of the Garter went to the Chapel in their blue robes; the queen, princess Elizabeth, the duchess of Suffolk, the Marchioness of Montague, the Marchioness of Dorset, and Lady Hastings 'all in one livery of murrey[1] embrodered with garters, except the Marchioness of Montague, who rode in a gowne of silke.'[2] The fact that there were five ladies in 'livery' suggests that they were in some way attached to the five covens of the Order. Two ecclesiastics were always associated with the Order, the prelate, always the Bishop of Winchester, and the register, always the dean of Windsor.[3]

The purpose for which the Order of the Garter was founded is not clear, but the organization suggests that it was the witch-coven under a slight veneer of Christianity. The circumstances of its foundation, i.e. the placing of the emblem of the Chief of the Coven by the king on his own leg; the significant number in each group, never to be exceeded; the special oath of fidelity which the knights took to their chief; the form of worship given to the king on their solemn religious ceremonies; all these are indications that the Order of the Garter was in fact, though not in name, a Coven of Witches, a band of men devoted body and soul to their Grandmaster. The recorders, being Christian, insist on the importance of the two 'covens' of priests attached to the Order; these were appointed to make continual prayers for the knights, whether living or dead, more particularly for the dead. According to the recorders all that the knights were called upon to do, was to wear splendid robes and jewels, to feast sumptuously, to hold jousts and tournaments, and to attend a religious service on St. George's Day. It seems

[1] The servants provided for Perkin Warbeck by the duchess of Burgundy were dressed in a 'livery' of merrey and blue; she thus proclaimed to the world that Perkin, as the legitimate king, had the right to use the Garter colours.

[2] Stow, p. 429. The duchess of Suffolk was the king's sister.

[3] Sanderson, *Hist. of King James*, p. 273.

hardly likely that these were their only functions, and that so remarkable a body of men should be united to form what can only be regarded as a very select club. As, however, is evident in the decadent form of the Old Religion, when it had fallen from its high estate and was merely a shadow of its former greatness, the coven had some secret and special connection with, and duties towards, their chief. The records of the greatest of all covens, though hidden under a layer of Christianity, may yet disclose the real reason for the foundation of the Order. I make here a suggestion as to the true function of the Knights of the Garter, a function which lasted till the Civil War swept away many of the old beliefs and customs.

In dealing with the killing of the Divine Victim, it is possible to trace the alteration in the method of choice and of execution. In the case of the Substitute Victim, the king's will was supreme; he indicated the victim, who was then put to death. Oswin, Eanfrid, earl Waltheof, Thomas à Becket—to name only a few—were killed by the direct order of the king. But with the advance of civilization the king's mere word was not sufficient; there had to be some show of legality, and the intended victims were tried for their lives, condemned on the flimsiest evidence, and perished on the gibbet or the scaffold. William Wallace (1305), the earl of Arundel (1397), the young earl of Warwick (1499), Anne Boleyn (1536), Katherine Howard (1541), Protector Somerset (1552), the earl of Essex (1601), and finally the trial of the earl and countess of Somerset (1616), when the two accused were condemned but pardoned, these examples show the steady change.

In those cases where there was a trial, no matter how perfunctory that trial may have been, the judges were usually taken from the nobles and knights, the king is less and less important in the trial, though he might pull strings behind the scenes as James I did. The choice of the victim seems to have been transferred from the king to a select body of persons taken from the Privy Council. These persons were, I suggest, members of the royal coven, who were later called the Knights of the Garter. Their secret function was to choose, or advise the king in the choice of, the victim. The

change, which took place in the fourteenth century, was not sudden. Edward I had clearly a large share in the condemnation of William Wallace, Richard II had a similar share in the sentence pronounced upon the earl of Arundel, but between those two reigns Piers Gaveston had been tried *in absentia* by the barons, and the sentence carried into execution when he was captured. Henry VIII's reign shows very clearly that the choice of the victims was not in the king's hands. It was the Privy Council that chose Wolsey, and Henry who did all in his power to make the victim's last days comfortable and happy. Anne Boleyn was accused, and the evidence against her was procured and arranged by the Privy Council, but only by a select few, for Cranmer, one of the most important members, was kept in complete ignorance of the affair, presumably because as a professed Christian priest he could not have countenanced so heathen a custom. And again Henry did what he could for the comfort of the victim. Henry's horror and tears when he learned that the choice had been made of Katherine Howard show that he was not consulted in the matter, and that the choice was one that he had to abide by. Elizabeth was faced with the same hard fate, when she was called upon to sign the death warrant of Essex, who had been chosen to die. James I, with his love of intrigue and secret wiles, delighted in pretending to be ignorant of all that happened before the trial of the earl of Somerset, though all the time arranging with Sir Francis Bacon how the trial should end. The Civil War and the Commonwealth terminated the sacrifice of the Substitute Victim; and the secret power of the Royal Coven, the Knights of the Garter, came to an end also.

It would seem that the Knights of the Garter had special duties in cases of high treason, when the king's person was threatened. There are many instances of a Knight of the Garter presiding at the trial of a traitor, and in the reign of Henry VI they were also empowered to make investigations and bring suspected persons to justice. After the trial of Eleanor Cobham a commission was directed to the earls of Huntingdon, Stafford and Suffolk, all of whom were knights of the Garter, 'and to certayn juges of both benchis, to enquire of al maner tresons, sorcery and alle other thyngis

that myghte in eny wise touche or concerne harmfullie the kyngis persone'.[1]

In the reign of Edward III, besides the greatest of all covens—the Order of the Garter—there are two clear examples of the number thirteen in connection with the king. In 1327 Sir John de Hainault came to England with a body of thirty-eight knights and gentlemen and their retainers to assist Edward in a war with the Scots. With himself the number of named persons was thirty-nine or three covens.[2] In 1329 Edward went to France and took with him three bishops, four earls, and six barons; thirteen in all, or one coven.[3] These were:

1. Stephen Gravesend, bishop of London
2. John Stratford, bishop of Winchester
3. Henry Burwash, bishop of Lincoln
4. The earl of Derby
5. The earl of Salisbury
6. The earl of Warwick
7. The earl of Hereford
8. Lord Reginald Cobham
9. Lord Thomas Wager (Marshal of England)
10. Lord Percy
11. Lord Manny
12. Lord Mowbray
13. The son of Thomas, earl of Lancaster

The reign of Richard II is remarkable for the number of incidents which show the strength of the old Dianic Cult in spite of the centuries of official Christianity. The coven-formation is strongly marked throughout. In 1377 when he was crowned he created four earls and nine knights, i.e. one coven. Of these Thomas of Woodstock, youngest son of Edward III, was the chief, a position which is significant when considering his ultimate fate.[4]

The coven formation is clear in the great trial of 1388 when Richard had reached the age of twenty-one. The trial

[1] *An English Chronicle*, p. 58.
[2] Froissart, i, ch. xv, p. 27.
[3] Ibid., i, ch. xxiii, p. 58.
[4] Stow, p. 279. For names see Appendix 7d, p. 258.

was aimed at two men, Sir Simon Burley who as chief councillor and chief official of the king, was wielding the royal power; the second man was Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, who as chief favourite stood in the place of the king. With these two men were associated twenty-four others, making twenty-six, i.e. two covens with their chiefs. Of these, all of whom were accused of treason, eight were executed; Sir Simon Burley, chief counsellor; Sir John Beauchamp, lord steward of the king's household; Sir John Salisburie and John Blake, both of the king's household; Nicholas Brember formerly Lord Mayor of London; Thomas Uske undersheriff of London; Sir Robert Tressillian, Chief Justice; and Sir John Berners. Seven members were banished, three were released, three made their escape; the fate of the rest is not given.[1]

At the same time there were twelve men removed from court as having a bad influence on the king. They were probably the king's intimates who, with himself, formed another coven. But a curious feature of this enactment is that among those banished from the court were three ladies, the Lady Maine, the Lady Poines, and the Lady Molyneux.[2] This suggests that there were three covens, to each of which belonged one of these ladies, but like Dame Alice Kyteler of an earlier generation, they were of too high a rank to suffer. It is possible that their places in the trial were taken by the three men who were released. Sir William Elmham, Sir Nicholas Dagworth, and Sir Thomas Trivet.

The great conspiracy for killing the usurper, Henry IV, and reinstating Richard II, was betrayed by Edward, duke of Aumerle, who saved his own life at the expense of the lives of the rest of the coven to which he clearly belonged. How many persons were more or less engaged in the plot is not known, but the chief members, who numbered thirteen, suffered death, with the exception of the traitor.

1. Thomas Holland, duke of Surrey, K.G. Beheaded
2. John Holland, duke of Exeter, K.G. Beheaded
3. John Mountacute, earl of Salisbury, K.G. Beheaded

[1] Stow, pp. 302–4. For names see Appendix 7d, pp. 258–9.
[2] Ibid., p. 303. For names see Appendix 7d, p. 259.

4. Hugh Spence, earl of Gloucester. Beheaded
5. Sir Thomas Blount. Beheaded
6. Sir Benet Selly. Beheaded
7. Thomas Wintercell. Beheaded
8. Sir Bernard Brocas. Hanged
9. Sir John Fereby. Hanged
10. Sir John Selly. Hanged
11. Sir John Maundesley. Hanged
12. John Magdalen. Hanged and quartered
13. Edward, duke of Aumerle. Pardoned[1]

The case of Sir Roger Claryndon, bastard son of the Black Prince, shows clearly that a complete coven, of which he was apparently the head, were sacrificed. Like the sons of Saul he was, though illegitimate, of royal blood, and therefore an appropriate substitute for the king. 'This same year (1401) was so gret derthe of corne, and so gret scarcite, that a quarter of whete was sold for xvj. s. And this same year ser Roger of Claryngdoun, Knyght, the Priour of Lounde and .viij. frere minores, and other to the noumbre of .xij. persones, were drawe and hanged for treason at Tybourne.'[2]

In 1424 a council was appointed to rule the kingdom for the child-king, Henry VI, who was then three years old. The council consisted of twenty-three nobles and sixteen ecclesiastics, making thirty-nine members or three covens.[3] In 1426 the city of Mons was recaptured, which had been lost by treachery. 'Inquisition was made of this vngracious coniuration, and there were accused thirtie Citezens, twentie priestes, and fiftene Friers, which according to their desertes were put to execution.'[4] In other words, sixty-five persons, or five covens, suffered death as traitors.

After Cade's rebellion in 1451, 'the .18. of January the king with certaine Lords, and his Justices rode towards Kent, and there indited and araigned many, whereof to the number of 26, were put to death'.[5] This is a statement of

[1] See Fabyan, Grafton, Hall and Stow.
[2] *An English Chronicle*, p. 23; Fabyan, p. 569.
[3] Grafton, i, p. 567.
[4] Ibid., i, p. 575.
[5] Stow, p. 392.

considerable interest for it shows that the judges were intent, as in later times, on seizing and convicting members of a coven, and when those were despatched the lesser people escaped.

In spite of the confusion caused by the Wars of the Roses, Henry VI's reign shows several examples of the coven formation on certain special occasions. When Richard, duke of York, made his submission to the king in 1452, there were present, beside the king and the duke, twenty-four nobles and high ecclesiastics; twenty-six persons in all, or two covens.[1] On 21st May 1455, Henry went to St. Albans to meet Richard, duke of York, and was accompanied by twelve nobles, making one coven.

1. Henry VI
2. Humfrey, duke of Buckingham
3. Edmund, duke of Somerset
4. Humfrey, earl of Stafford
5. Henry, earl of Northumberland
6. James Butler, earl of Wiltshire
7. John Beaufort, earl of Dorset
8. Jasper Tewdor, earl of Pembroke
9. T. Courtney, earl of Devon
10. Thomas, Lord Clifford
11. Lord Dudley
12. Lord Barnes
13. Lord Ross[2]

Edward IV followed the usual custom of distributing honours at his coronation, and on this occasion thirteen men were advanced in rank. These were:

1. George Plantagenet made duke of Clarence. Murdered
2. Richard Plantagenet made duke of Gloucester
3. Humfrey Stafford made Lord Stafford of Southwick and earl of Devonshire. Beheaded
4. Sir William Herbert made Lord Herbert and earl of Pembroke. Beheaded

[1] Stow, p. 395. For names see Appendix 7e, p. 260.
[2] Ibid., p. 398.

5. Sir Edmond Grey made Lord of Ruthen
6. William Nevill, Lord Fauconbridge, made earl of Kent. Beheaded
7. Henry, Lord Bourcher, made earl of Essex
8. John Stafford, lord of Buckingham, made earl of Wiltshire. Beheaded
9. Sir Thomas Blunt made lord of Mountjoy
10. Sir John Howard made Lord Howard
11. William Hastings made Lord Hastings. Beheaded
12. Richard Woodville made Lord Rivers. Beheaded
13. John Denham made Lord Denham[1]

The fate of several of these men suggests that their honours were only a prelude to their becoming victims. In Edward's eighth regnal year (1464) 'was takē y^e^ Lord Harbord, and his brod', at Hedgcotfeld, and bothe beheded; and y^e^ Lord Ryuers, and his son, beheaded; and one Stafford, of Southwick, y^t^ was made Earle of Deuinshir, also beheded.'[2] In the following year (1465), 'this yere, at Ester, the Duke of Clarens and th' Erle of Warwik fledde in to Fraunce, and Steers Poynes and Alford behedid'.[3] Later on Clarence, Fauconbridge, Hastings and Buckingham were all executed or murdered.

Edward IV seems to have taken the number of the knights of the Garter as his model. At his coming to London in 1470, in the highway he was met by the mayor and aldermen of London, and then and there he knighted thirteen of them, Sir John Stockton, mayor of London, Sir Ralph Verney, Sir Richard Lee, Sir John Young, Sir William Taylor, Sir George Ireland, Sir William Stocker, Sir Mathew Philip, Sir William Hampton, Sir Thomas Stallbrook, Sir John Crosby, Sir Bartholomew James, and Sir Thomas Urswick, the Recorder of London.[4] Five years later, in 1475, 'the eighteenth of Aprill, were inhaunsed to the honor of knighthoode, after the custome of England in the time of peace', twenty-six men and young lads, beginning with his

[1] Stow, p. 416.
[2] Arnold, p. xxxv.
[3] Ibid., p. xxxvi.
[4] Stow, p. 425.

own two sons, Edward, prince of Wales, and Richard, duke of York.[1]

Though Richard III's reign is of the shortest, there is a remarkable instance of the coven at his coronation. When he rode in procession through London to Westminster Abbey to be anointed and crowned, he was attended by a company of nobles and knights. Thirteen followed immediately behind him, led by his only son. The names are recorded:[2]

1. Edward, prince of Wales
2. Duke of Norfolk
3. Duke of Buckingham
4. Duke of Suffolk
5. Earl of Northumberland
6. Earl of Arundel
7. Earl of Kent
8. Earl of Surrey
9. Earl of Wiltshire
10. Earl of Huntingdon
11. Earl of Nottingham
12. Earl of Warwick
13. Earl of Lincoln

Behind these came a large body of lords and knights, who are also named, but the names of the royal coven are given separately.

In 1471, after the battle of Bosworth, the number of Lancastrian prisoners beheaded on the field of battle was thirteen.[3]

As the records become fuller the covens are often more clearly defined, so that under the Tudors and Stuarts the groups of thirteen appear to occur more frequently than under the Plantagenets, both in the witch organizations and among the Christians.

One of the chief events of the reign of Henry VII was the attempt of Perkin Warbeck to obtain the crown of England. The trial of 'the chiefe Captaines of the conspiracie', as they were called, shows that thirteen were arraigned, of whom

[1] Stow., p. 428.
[2] Grafton, ii, p. 113.
[3] Clements Markham, *Richard III*, p. 76.

four were executed, two fled, and the rest were pardoned. In other words, one complete coven was known; and, as in the witch trials, only certain members of the coven suffered death. The discovery of the Chiefe Captaines was due to Henry's spies, who 'were sent to intise sir Robert Clifford and William Barley to returne into Englande, promising to them pardon of all their offences, and high rewards'. Clifford took advantage of the offer, and in this way 'they learned who were the chiefe conspiratours'.[1]

The reign of Henry VIII is marked by several interesting examples of covens. On May Day, 1517, there was a riot in London against the foreigners trading in the city. The riot was quickly suppressed, and many prisoners were taken and sent for trial. The trial took place on the 4th May. 'When the Lordes were set, the prisoners were brought in through the stretes tyed in ropes, some men, some laddes, some children of .xiij. yere. There was a great mournyng of fathers and friendes for their children and kinsfolke. Among the prisoners manye were not of the Citye, some were priestes and some husbandmen and labourers, and they were all arreigned of Treason. The cause of the Treason was, because the King had amitie with all christen Princes, that they had broken the truce and league contrary to the statute of king Henry the fift. Of this treason diuers were endited. . . . When the Maior, the Duke [of Norfolk] and the Erle of Shrewsbury and Surrey were set, the prisoners were arreigned, and .xiij. founde guiltie of high treason, and adiudged to be hanged, drawen and quartered, & for the execution hereof, were set vp a .xj. payre of Gallowes in diuers places where the offences were done. . . . Then were the prisoners that were iudged, brought to the places of execution, and executed in most rigorous manner, for the Lorde Edmond Haward, sonne to the Duke of Norffolke, and Knight Mershall shewed no mercie, but extreme crueltie, to the poore yonglynges in their execution.'[2] On the 22nd May the rest of the prisoners were brought before the king and cardinal Wolsey in person to receive their sentence. The king went in state to Westminster Hall. 'Then the King com-

[1] Stow, pp. 477–8. For names see Appendix 7f, p. 261.

[2] Grafton, ii, p. 293.

maunded that all the prisoners should be brought foorth. Then came in the poore yonglings and olde false knaues bound in ropes all along, one after another in their shirtes, and euery one a Halter about his necke, to the number of foure hundred men and .xj. women. And when all were come before the kings presence, the Cardinall sore layd to the Maior and commonaltie their negligence, and to the prisoners he declared that they had deserued death for their offence: Then all the prisoners together cryed mercy, gracious Lorde, mercy. Then the Lordes altogether besought his grace of mercy, at whose request the king pardoned them all. . . . And when the generall pardon was pronounced, all the prisoners showted at once, and altogether cast vp their Halters into the Hall rouffe, so that the king might perceyue they were none of the discretest sort.'[1]

This is a peculiarly interesting trial as showing that there was a definite knowledge of the coven-formation; it could hardly be accidental that only thirteen out of four hundred and twenty-four prisoners should have been chosen for capital punishment unless they were known to belong to some society. If they were known members of the Old Religion, the 'extreme crueltie' of Lord Edmond Howard is explained; the Christian of that period prided himself on inflicting on the wretched sufferer a foretaste of the pains of Hell, which he hoped and believed would be endured hereafter by every worshipper of a non-Christian God.

In 1521, when there was war between the king of France and the emperor, Henry sent a mission to 'intreate an amity & peace betwene these two mighty princes. For this voyage great preparation was made, not onely for the Cardinall, but also for the Erle of Worcester, then Lord Chamberleyn, the Lord of Saint Johns, the Lord Ferrers, the Lord Harbert, the Bishop of Duresme, the Bishop of Ely, the Primate of Armicane, Sir Thomas Bulleyn, Sir Iohn Peche, sir Iohn Hussey, sir Richard Wingfielde, sir Henry Guylforde, and many other Knyghts, Esquires, Gentlemen, Doctors and learned men.'[2] It is noticeable that the important members of the mission were thirteen in number, and that the chief,

[1] Grafton, ii, p. 294.
[2] Grafton, ii, p. 312.

i.e. cardinal Wolsey, was exercising the royal power, for 'it is to suppose the Emperour knewe of the commission geuen to the sayde Cardinall, which had the kings power as if his grace had beene present, and also had the great seale with him, which had not bene sene before. . . . Duryng the continuaunce of the Cardinall in Calice all wryters and Patentes were there by him sealed and no Shriefes chosen for lacke of his presence.'[1]

In 1532 Henry himself went to France accompanied by a large number of gentlemen, who were led by Henry's illegitimate son, the duke of Richmond. The total number of names recorded of this retinue is seventy-four, which with thirty unnamed esquires brings the total to one hundred and four, or eight covens; and of these twenty-six, or two covens, were peers, both lay and spiritual.[2] The whole company being under the command of a chief who was of royal blood.

In 1533 there occurred that extraordinary trial which in the end was fatal to one of the highest dignitaries of the Church. This was the trial of Elizabeth Barton, a professed nun, known as the Holy Maid of Kent. The accusation was of treason by plotting against the king's life. With the Holy Maid there were tried, or at least accused, twelve men, i.e. one complete coven made up in the most ancient fashion of twelve men and one woman. I give here the list of names, and the professions and fate of the accused:[3]

1. Elizabeth Barton, nun. Hanged and headed
2. Richard Master, parson of Alderton. Hanged and headed
3. Edward Bocking, Doctor of Divinity, monk of Canterbury. Hanged and headed
4. Richard Dering, monk of Canterbury. Hanged and headed
5. Edward Thwaites, gentleman
6. Henrie Goode, parson of Alder Marie, London. Hanged and headed
7. Hugh Rich, friar observant

[1] Grafton, ii, p. 315.
[2] Stow, p. 560. For names see Appendix 7g, p. 261.
[3] Ibid., pp. 569, 570.

8. Richard Risby, gentleman. Hanged and headed
9. Thomas Lawrence, register to the archdeacon of Canterbury
10. Thomas Gold
11. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester. Beheaded later
12. John Adeane, bishop Fisher's chaplain.
13. Thomas Able, priest

The last five were attainted of misprision of treason only, but there can be little doubt that the fact of having been previously connected with a coven told heavily against bishop Fisher in his later trial.

In 1536 another coven of twelve men and one woman were tried, found guilty of treason, and all executed. 'In Iune the Lorde Darcy and the Lorde Hossey were arreigned at Westminster . . . and they were both found gylty. Shortly after were also arreigned sir Robert Constable, sir Thomas Percey, Sir Fraunces Bigod, Sir Stephen Hamelton, syr Iohn Bulmer and his wife, which some reported was not his wife, but his paramour, also William Lumlay, Nycholas Tempest, and the Abbotes of Ierueys and Riuers, and Roberte Aske, and all found gyltie of high treason and all put to death at Tiborne, sauing Sir Robert Cōstable, which was hanged in chaines on Beuerley Gate at Hull, and Aske was also hanged in chaynes at Yorke on a Tower, and sir Iohn Bulmers paramour was brent in Smithfield in London: and in the latter ende of Iune, was the Lorde Darcy behedded at Tower hill, and shortly after was the Lord Hossey behedded at Lincolne.'[1]

In 1538 thirteen persons were arraigned on November 5th on the accusation of Sir Geoffrey Poole, brother of Lord Mountacute. He accused them 'for deuising to maintaine, promote, & aduance, one Reginald Poole, late Deane of Excestre, enemie to the K. beyond the sea, and to depriue the king'. The names of the accused are as follows:

1. Henry Courtney, marquess of Exeter. Beheaded, January 9th
2. Henry Poole, Lord Mountacute. Beheaded, January 9th

[1] Grafton, ii, pp. 461–2.

3. Sir Edward Nevill. Beheaded, January 9th
4. Crofts, priest. Hanged and quartered at Tyburn
5. Holland, mariner. Hanged and quartered at Tyburn
6. Colens, priest. Hanged and quartered at Tyburn
7. Geoffrey Poole. Pardoned
8. Sir Nicholas Carew. Beheaded, March 3rd
9. Margaret, countess of Salisbury. Arraigned April 28th, not beheaded till May 27th 1541
11. Reginald Poole. Arraigned, April 28th
12. Sir Adrian Fortescue. Beheaded, July 10th
13. Thomas Dingley, knight. Beheaded, July 10th[1]

There are two points which are perhaps worth noting. All the accused were convicted and executed with the exception of Reginald Poole who was 'beyond the sea', and Geoffrey Poole who betrayed his fellow-conspirators. The second is that in each case the fate of the condemned, whether the death of the nobles by beheading or the death of the commoners by hanging, resulted in the shedding of blood, for the hanging was at once followed by the quartering of the body, possibly preceded by disembowelling.

The reign of Edward VI, though short, contains one example of the coven-formation in the giving of honours. After the battle of Maskelsburgh in 1546, fifty-two persons were honoured for their actions during the battle; three were made bannerets, the rest knights.[2]

In 1551, when Edward was fourteen, the Protector, the duke of Somerset, was condemned to death. The young king, writing to his friend Barnaby Fitzpatrick on 20th December 1551, says 'Little hath been done since you went, but the Duke of Somerset's arraignment of felonious treason. The duke the first of this month, was brought to Westminster Hall, where sate as judge, or high steward, my lord treasurer. Twenty six lords of the parliament went on his trial,'[3] i.e. two covens.

Even for the unfortunate girl-queen, Lady Jane Grey, the coven-formation is unmistakable, for twenty-six peers,

[1] Stow, pp. 575, 576.
[2] Grafton, ii, p. 502.
[3] Halliwell, *Letters*, ii, p. 50.

i.e. two covens, signed the Settlement of the Crown on her.

In the reign of Mary there were two important occasions when the coven-formation is recorded. In that fateful year 1553, news was brought to Lady Jane Grey in London that the following had joined Mary in Norfolk.

1. The earl of Bath
2. Sir Thomas Wharton
3. John Mordaunt
4. Sir William Drury
5. Sir John Shelton
6. Sir Henry Bedingfield
7. Master Henry Jerningham
8. Master John Sulierde
9. Master Richard Freston
10. Master Sergeant Morgan
11. Master Clement Higham

and that on the way to join her were:

12. The earl of Sussex
13. His son, Master Henry Radcliffe[1]

The trials and executions of the members who took part in the abortive rising under Wyatt show again the coven-formation, for sixty-five persons, i.e. five covens were tried. These members ranged in rank from the duke of Suffolk down to the queen's footman.[2] After the executions an incident occurred which suggests that Wyatt's followers were actual covens, obeying his orders and regarding him as their divine chief, and that the numbers are not accidental. 'The .xj. daie of April, Sir Thomas Wiat was beheaded at the Toure Hill, for high treason, and after quartered and his quarters set vp in divers places, and his head set vpon the gallowes on Hay hill, where he was ouer runne, and shortlie after it was stollen awaie.'[3]

[1] *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, pp. 4, 5.
[2] For names see Appendix 7g, p. 264.
[3] *Continuation of Fabyan's Chronicle*, p. 714.

Elizabeth suffered as much from plots and conspiracies as did her father, but it is noticeable how little the coven-formation is seen. This is probably due to the fact that the Old Religion with its beliefs and organization no longer flourished as before among the upper classes of society, and was being relegated to the ignorant and illiterate. Thus in a list of suspected persons in Lord Burleigh's writing, there are eighty-seven names, of which eight are possibly part of a coven, for they are 'Ould Birtles the great devel, Roger Birtles and his wife and Anne Birtles, Darnally the sorcerer, the oulde witche of Ramsbury, Maud Twogood Enchantress, Mother Gillian witch'.[1] There is, however, an instance of the coven-formation in the conferring of honours. When Cadiz was taken in 1595 sixty-five persons, i.e. five covens obtained the honour of knighthood.[2]

As might be expected the Scotch evidence shows that the custom continued later than in England. Consequently there is more detail in the records. I give here only the evidence connected with Mary, queen of Scots, and her son James, which affected England. In the case of James, the incidents occurred when he was only king of Scotland as well as later when he became king of England.

When it was proposed that Mary should marry lord Darnley, thirteen English nobles and councillors subscribed a letter to her, strongly objecting to the marriage, while thirteen Scottish nobles subscribed another letter expressing their approval of the marriage. According to Sir Edward Peyton, Darnley, who was then king, accompanied by twelve lords, carried out the murder of Rizzio.[3] Darnley's own death was that of a traitor to the coven; he was strangled, as were all other traitors or potential traitors. Details are unfortunately not given, but presumably he was found with a loosely tied string round his throat, in sign that his death was an execution and not a murder. Though twenty or more persons were known to have been concerned in the conspiracy, the number who performed the actual deed was thirteen:

[1] *Cal. St. Pap. Dom.* (1584), p. 220.
[2] Stow, p. 774.
[3] Peyton, *Divine Catastrophe*, p. 327.

1. The laird of Ormiston
2. The laird of Branston
3. John Heburn of Bowton
4. William Blacater
5. Edward Blacater
6. James Edmonstone
7. William Edmonstone
8. Herre Lauder
9. James Cullen
10. Patrike Wobson
11. Sym Armstrong
12. The laird of Tallys
13. The earl of Bothwell

Judging by the names, it would seem that this coven, like the covens of Bothwell's nephew in 1590, consisted of persons of all classes.

The reign of James I and VI shows that the number thirteen played a considerable part in the king's life, so much so that coincidence or accident can be ruled out. Thus, in 1588, a convention was called, and 'upon the 27th of October, the said convention sat down in Holyrood-house. There assembled at this convention thirty-nine persons, including the King; in other words there were three covens present. In 1590 James's life was certainly attempted by the witches of North Berwick under the leadership of Francis Bothwell, nephew of the murderer of Darnley. On this occasion Francis Bothwell had called together three covens, or thirty-nine persons, who were instructed in magic arts, in order to kill the King. James had hardly become King of England when in 1604 his life was again in danger, this time by the famous Gunpowder Plot. It is clear that the conspiracy included many people, but it is remarkable that only thirteen were so intimately concerned that four were killed in the ensuing fight, eight were tried and executed, and one died—possibly helped out of the world—in the Tower. I give here the names of the coven and the fate that befell each one.

1. Robert Catesby, the chief. Killed in the fight
2. Guy Fawkes. Tortured and executed
3. Thomas Piercy. Killed in the fight
4. John Wright. Killed in the fight
5. Christopher Wright. Killed in the fight
6. Thomas Winter. Executed
7. Robert Winter. Executed
8. Thomas Bates (Catesby's man). Executed
9. Sir Everard Digby. Executed

10. Ambrose Rookwood. Executed
11. John Gaunt. Executed
12. Robert Keys. Executed
13. Francis Tresham (who wrote the betraying letter). Died in the Tower

In the case of Sir Walter Raleigh there seems to have been a coven of thirteen persons, and James was well aware of the fact; hence his extraordinary action at the first trial. The members of the coven were:

1. Sir Walter Raleigh. Not tried at Winchester
2. Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham. Condemned at Winchester. Reprieved on the scaffold
3. George Brooke, Esquire, brother of Lord Cobham. Beheaded at Winchester
4. Thomas, Lord Gray of Wilton. Condemned at Winchester. Reprieved on the scaffold
5. Sir Griffin Markham. Condemned at Winchester. Reprieved on the scaffold
6. George Anthony Copley, gentleman
7. Sir John Fortescue
8. Bartholomew Brookesley, Esquire. Sent back to the Tower
9. Sir Edward Parham, knight
10. William Watson, priest. Condemned and executed at Winchester
11. William Clarke, priest. Condemned and executed at Winchester
12. Lady Cobham. Sent back to the Tower after the trial at Winchester
13. Lady Gray. Sent back to the Tower after the trial at Winchester

It is obvious that only the lesser members were executed, and that the more important members were reserved in order that by their actions they might inculpate other important persons. James's action in reprieving Cobham, Gray and Markham on the scaffold, each man after he had made his confession, was in keeping with the king's tortuous mind, which in this case hoped for increase of popularity by the

dramatic reprieve, and also so arranged that each wretched victim had acknowledged publicly the justice of his sentence and had incriminated the others. It is possible that James hoped to hear that they had incriminated other suspected and unsuspected persons as well.

The number thirteen is noticeable even in the life of James's eldest son, prince Henry. When the prince was created prince of Wales in 1608 he created twenty-five knights of the Bath, who with himself made two covens. Again, when in 1610 he set up his separate establishment, the officers of his 'revenue' and his household appointed by himself, numbered twelve, who with the prince, numbered thirteen or one coven.

England is not the only country in which the cult of Mystic Numbers is found. France shows many examples of the belief. Jean Bodin, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, discusses the Doctrine of Sovereignty in his *Republic*. 'He [Bodin] abandoned the House of Valois in despair, not so much because of the corruption and incompetence of the last four representatives as because Henry III was the sixty-third king of France, and the numbers seven and nine being both of them fatal to states there was no possibility of his surviving a combination of the two.'[1]

Baring Gould also calls attention to the persistent occurrence of the number fourteen, a multiple of seven, in the career of Henry IV of France.[2]

[1] F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Bodin's Doctrine of Sovereignty*, Tudor Studies, p. 121.

[2] Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, p. 652.

## Appendix One

(a) *Simon de Montfort*

Salve, Symon Montis-Fortis,
Totius flos militiae,
Duras poenas passus mortis,
Protector gentis Angliae,
Sunt de sanctis inaudita,
Cunctis passis in hac vita,
Quemquam passus talia;
Manus, pedes amputari,
Caput, corpus vulnerari,
Abscidi virilia.
Sit pro nobis intercessor
Apud Deum, qui defensor
In terris extiterae.[1]

(b) 1322. *From the Office of St. Thomas of Lancaster.*

*Anthem:* Rejoice, Thomas, the glory of Chieftains, the light of Lancaster, who by thy death imitatest Thomas of Canterbury; whose head was broken (conculeatur) on account of the peace of the Church, and thine is cut off for the cause of the peace of England, be to us an affectionate guardian in every difficulty . . .

*Prosa:* It is shown by the evidence of the miracles of St. Thomas, the royal vessel is beheaded for the cure of the kingdom.

Sancti Thomas quod monstratur signorum indicio,
Vas regale trucidatur regni pro remedio.[2]

[1] Wright, *Pol. Songs*, p. 124.
[2] Wright, *Pol. Songs*, p. 268, 269.

(c) Osfrith, son of Edwin. Killed in battle by Penda, 12th October 633.

Osric I. 'Justly though treacherously slain.'

Oswald. Killed in battle by Penda, 6th August 642. Reigned eight years. Canonized.

Oswin. Murdered by Oswy's orders. Reigned seven years. Canonized.

Oswy. Died 15th February 671. Reigned twenty-eight years.

Ostrith, daughter of Oswy, married Aethelred of Mercia. 'Barbarously murdered by the nobles'. Year of Aethelred's reign, 21.

Osred I. Murdered by his relatives. 'Rightfully slain.'

Osric II. 'Expiated by a violent death the blood of his master, whom he supposed he had rightfully slain.' Died 6th May 729. Reigned fourteen years.

Oswulf. 'Wickedly murdered by his own servants' (Bede). 'Without any cause was slain by his subjects' (Malmesbury). 'Infamously betrayed by his own household and slain' (Hoveden). 24th July 759. Reigned three years.

Oswin. The noble aetheling. Slain by the reigning king, Aetheling Moll, 6th August 765. King's reign, two years.

Osred II. 'The young Osred ascended the throne with a light step and a merry heart.' After two years was driven out by his subjects, then returned. 'Osred, relying upon the oath and fidelity of certain nobles, came from his place of exile; and being deserted by his soldiers, was taken prisoner by King Ethelred, and by his order slain' (Hoveden).

Osbald. Elected by his people. Died the 2nd before the Ides of May. 'Dying on the twenty-fifth day of his reign he was succeeded by Eardulf.'

Osbeorht. 'On Palm Sunday there fell the kings Osbert and Aelle, 867. Reigned eighteen years' (Wendover).

## Appendix 2

(a) *Edward II*

The Obsequies and Ceremonies done,
Then I was Crown'd, me thought the Sun did dance;
And that the Thames with silver streams did run,
Likewise the Stars did all applaud my chance.
Thus did my State unto a Crown advance;
Smile Stars, dance Sun, and River run with mirth,
Carnarvon Edward is a god on earth.[1]

(b) Postea, x. kalendas Octobris, anno Domini d.c. xxvii, fuit mortuus Edwardus rex Angliae in castro de Berkeleye, in quo, ut praemittitur, fuit carceri mancipatus seu detentus invitus. Et licet multi abbates, priores, milites, burgenses de Bristollia et Gloucestria ad videndum corpus suum integrum fuissent vocati, et tale superficialiter conspexissent, dictum tamen fuit vulgariter quod per ordinationem dominorum Johannis Mautravers et Thomas de Gorneye fuit per cautelam occisus. Propter quod ipsi duo et quidam alii fugerunt.[2]

Et tertio Nonae Aprilis translatus est rex antiquus de Kenylworth usque Castrum de Berkeley, ubi, licet multi conspirarent ad ejus liberationem, mortuus est: de cujus meritis, an inter Sanctos numerandus sit, frequens in vulgo, sicut quondam de Thoma comite Lancastriae, adhuc deceptatio est; sed revera nec carceris inclusio, nec alia prosecutio, cum talia sceleratis impenduntur, nec etiam oblationum frequentio, aut miraculorum simulacra, cum talia sint indifferentia, quemquam sanctum probant, nisi conresponderet sanctimonia vitae praecedentis.[3]

[1] *The Deplorable Life and Death of Edward the Second*, verse, 123, p. 36.
[2] *Adam Murimuth* (ed. E. M. Thompson), p. 53.
[3] Monk of Malmesbury. *Vita Edwardi Secundi* (ed. Hearne), p. 241.

And he said that a friar preacher of the convent of London came unto him, at Kensington near to London, and told him that he had raised up the devil, which declared unto him for certain, that Edward, his brother, sometime King of England, was alive. Confession of earl of Kent.[1]

[1] *Murimuth* (ed. E. M. Thomson), p. 255. Rerum Brittannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores.

## Appendix Three

(a) And the same night that King Edward came to London, King Henry being in ward, in prison in the Tower of London, was put to death, the twenty-first day of May, on a Tuesday night, betwixt eleven and twelve of the clock; being then at the Tower, the Duke of Gloucester, brother to King Edward and many others; and on the morrow he was chested and brought to Paul's, and his face open that every man might see him. And in his lying, he bled on the pavement there; and afterward at the Black Friars was brought, and there he bled new and fresh; and from there he was carried to Chertsey Abbey in a boat, and buried there in our Lady Chapel.[1]

(b) May, the two and twentieth day. At Windsore the deposition of holy K. Henry, the sixt of that name, of England, who being a most vertuous and innocent Prince was wrongfully deposed by King Edward the 4. and cast into the Tower of London, where a little after he was most barbarously slayne by Richard Duke of Gloucester, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred threescore and eleven. His body was first buryed in the monastery of Chertsey, where presently it began to doe miracles; which being seene it was with great solemnity and veneration translated to Windsore, and there honourably interred in the Chappell of S. Gregory, whereat also it pleased God, in witnesse of his innocent life, to worke many miracles. Moreover it is recorded, that his velvet hat which he used to weare, being put on men's heads that were troubled with the headake, were presently cured. King Henry the Seaventh dealt with Pope

[1] Warkworth, *Chronicle* (ed. 1845), p. 21. Spelling modernized.

Julius the Second after his canonization, but by reason of both their deaths the same was broken off.[1]

(c) 1475. In retribucione data magistro Ricardo Latomer pro laboribus suis impositis circa scripturam deposicionum certorum personarum coram ymagine regis Henrici sextit in Ecclesia Cath. Ebor. offerencium, 40s.[2]

(d) *Two verses of a Latin hymn to Henry VI.*

Memor esto famulorum!
Terge sordes Anglicorum,
  Qui te laudunt vocibus!
Fac nos omnes, o lucerna
Introduces ad superna
  Sacrosanctus precibus.

Visum reddit excaecatis,
Claudis gressum et curvatis,
  Laesis fert auxilium;
Aegros sanat et languores,
  Febras fugat graviores
  Procul in exilium.

*Translation:*

And Martyr King! To thee we pray,
Wipe thou our crimson spots away,
  Thine English sing thy praise.
Thy saintly prayers, O light Supernal
Lead us on to life eternal,
  Into life's full blaze! . . .

Through him the blind receive their sight,
The lame and crooked stand upright,
  And wounded men gain rest.

[1] Watson, *The English Martyrology*. See also *Trevelyan Papers* (Camden Society), iii, p. 3.

[2] Raine, *Fabric Rolls* (Surtees Society), p 82.

The sick and feeble are restored;
While into exile far abroad
He drives the fever's pest.[1]

(e) *English hymn to Henry VI*

As far as hope will yn lengthe
On the[e] Kyng Henry I fix my mynde
That be thy prayour I may have strenkith
In vertuous lyfe my warks to bynde
Though I to the have been unkynde
Off wilfulnesse long tyme and space
Off forgevenesse I aske the grace
Hop hathe me movyde to seke this place
In trust of socor by thyn old properte
Was never man com beforne thi face
Rebellion or oder yn adver[s]ite
Off thyn compassion commaunded them goe free
Now for thi pety to hym that all schall deme
Pray for me thy servaunt and pilgreme.[2]

[1] *Trevelyan Papers* (Camden Society), i, pp. 54–57.
[2] *Trevelyan Papers*, i, p. 59.

## Appendix Four

(a) 1203. Le roy de Fraunce eida Arthur de Bretayne encountre le roi Johan et ly fist seiser de Normendy; quelis nouelis sceus de roy Johan il se mist en Normendy et descounfist lez Franceys qen eide de Arthure estoient, qe ly meismes enchasa en vn chastel et le assist et le prist, enuoya le dit Arthur soun neueu a Rohan en prisoun, ou il morust. Ascuns cronicles deuisent qe les Galeys firent murrir cesti Arthure en la vie le roy Richard en le chastel de Mirable, et si deuisent ascuns qe le roy Johan enuoya le dit Arthur de Rohan en Engleter, et com deueroit passer dun nef a vn autre vn mariner par compassement le dit roy mist vn plaunche si desceyuablement par engyne qe le dit Arthur chey en mere entre lez nefes com enmyst le pee, et noia, et lez autres dez soens en diuers lieus Dengleter enprisonez.*

(b) 4. To warny[1] alle the gentilmen that bueth[2] in Scotlonde,
The Waleis was to-drawe, seththe[3] he was an-honge,[4]
Al quic[5] biheveded,[6] ys[7] bowels y-brend
The heved[8] to Londone brugge[9] was send
to abyde.
After Simond Frysel
That was traytour and fykell
and y-cud[10] ful wyde.

Sire Edward oure kynge that ful ys of piete,
The Waleis quarters sende to is oune contre,
On[11] four half[12] to honge, huere[13] myrour to be,

* Gray, *Scalacronica*. p. 82.

Theropen to thenche,[14] that monie myhten se
and drede.
Why nolden they be war[15]
of the Bataile of Donbar
hou evele hem con spede? . . .[16]
[Verses describing capture of Fraser omitted.]

Sone thereafter, the tydinge to the kyng com;
He him sende to Londone with mony armed grom;
He com yn at Newegate, y telle yt ou aplyht,[17]
A gerland of leves on ys hed y-dyht[18]
of grene;
For he shulde ben y-knowe
Both of heye and of lowe
for traytour, y wene.

Y-fetered were ye legges under his horse wombe;
Bothe with yrn and with stel mankled[19] were ys
honde;
A gerland of peruenke[20] set on ys heved;[21]
Much was the poer[22] that him was byreved[23]
in londe;
So God me amende!
Lutel he wende
so he broht in honde.[24] *

[1] Warn. [2] Be. [3] Afterwards. [4] Hanged.
[5] Alive. [6] Beheaded. [7] His. [8] Head.
[9] Bridge. [10] Known. [11] One. [12] Part.
[13] Their. [14] Think. [15] Why would they not be ware.
[16] How evil they can speed. [17] Faithfully. [18] Placed.
[19] Fettered. [20] Periwinkle. [21] Head. [22] Power.
[23] Reft from him. [24] Little he thought so to be brought in hand.

(c) A description of Gaveston put into the mouth of Edward II, though not contemporary, seems to preserve a tradition of a special spiritual bond between the two men. If

* Wright. *Pol. Songs*. pp. 213–18.

the names in the last line had been reversed, 'Gaveston is turned to Plantagenet' the line would have expressed the actual belief and fact.

'He was in face a Cupid, or more fair;
A Mercury in speech, or else as much;
In Active vigor, he was Mars his heir:
In wit love-bred; Minerva was not such. . . .
This Angel-Devil, thus shrin'd in my heart;
This Dragon, having got the golden Fruit;
My very soul to him I did impart;
Nor was I ever deaf unto his suit;
He acted all, I was a silent mute.
My being seem'd to be in him alone,
Plantagenet was turn'd to Gavestone.'[1]

(d) *Song in the form of a hymn, written by an opponent of Gaveston, probably an ecclesiastic.*

Vexilla regni prodeunt,
fulget cometa comitum,
Comes dico Lancastriae
qui domuit indomitum;
Quo vulneratus pestifer
mucronibus Walensium,
Truncatus est atrociter
in sexto mense mensium.
Impleta sunt quae censuit
auctoritas sublimium;
Mors Petri sero patuit,—
regnavit diu nimium.
Arbor mala succiditur,
dum collo Petrus caeditur:—
Sit benedicta framea
quae Petrum sic aggreditur!
Beata manus jugulans!
beatus jubens jugulum!
Beatum ferrum feriens
quem ferre nollet saeculum!

[1] *The Deplorable Life and Death*, vv, pp. 37, 44.

O crux, quae pati pateris
hanc miseram miseriam,
Tu nobis omnem subtrahe
miseriae materiam!
Te, summa Deus Trinitas,
oramus prece sedula,
Fautores Petri destruas
et conteras per secula. Amen.

The banners of the kingdom go forth, the comet of Earls shines, I mean the Earl of Lancaster, who tamed him whom nobody else could tame; whereby the pestiferous one being wounded by the blades of the Welsh, was disgracefully beheaded in the sixth month. What the authority of the powers above willed has been fulfilled; the death of Peter at last has been effected—he reigned much too long. The bad tree is cut down, when Peter is struck on the neck:—Blessed be the weapon which thus approached Peter! Blessed be the hand which executed him! Blessed the man who ordered the execution! Blessed the steel which struck him whom the world would not bear any longer! O Cross, which allowed to be suffered this wretched misery, do thou take from us all the material of misery! Thee, highest God in Trinity, we pray earnestly, destroy and crush for ever the maintainers of Peter. Amen.[1]

[1] Wright. *Pol. Songs.* pp. 258–9.

## Appendix Five

(a) (p. 122) 1492. *July 20th. Henry VII to Sir Gilbert Talbot. Spelling modernized.*

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. And not forgetting the great malice that the lady Margaret of Burgundy beareth continually against us, as she showed lately in sending hither of a feigned boy (Lambert Simnel), surmising him to have been the son of the Duke of Clarence, and caused him to be accompanied with the earl of Lincoln, the Lord Lovel, and with a great multitude of Irishmen and Almains, whose end, blessed be God, was as ye know well. And foreseeing now the perseverance of the same her malice, by the untrue contriving eftsoons of another feigned lad called Perkin Warbeck, born at Tournay in Picardy, which at his first into Ireland called himself the bastard son of King Richard; after that the son of the said Duke of Clarence, and now the second son of our father King Edward the iiijth, whom God assoil; wherethrough she intendeth by promising unto the Flemings and other of the Archduke's obeissance, to whom she laboureth daily to take her way, and by her promise to certain aliens Captains of strange nations, to have Duchies, Counties, Baronies and other lands within our Royaume to induce them thereby to land here, to the destruction and disinheritance of the noble men and other our subjects the inhabitants of the same, and finally to the subversion of this our Royaume, in case she may attain to her malicious purpose that God defend [forbid]. We therefore, and to the intent that we may be alway purveyed and in readiness to resist her malice, write unto you at this time, and will and desire you that preparing on horseback, defensibly arrayed, four score persons, whereof we desire you to make as many spears with their custrelles[1] and di. lances[2] well horsed as ye

[1] Custrelle, servant of a man-at-arms. [2] Di. lance, demi lance.

can furnish, and the remainder to be archers and bills, ye be thoroughly appointed and ready to come upon a day's warning for to do us service of war in this cause. And ye shall have for every horseman well and defensibly arrayed, that is to say, for a spear and his custrel xijd, a di-lance ixd. and an archer or bill on horseback viijd by the day, from the time of your coming out unto the time of your return to your home again. And thus doing ye shall deserve such thanks of us for your loving and true acquittal in that behalf as shall be to your weal and honour for time to come. We pray you herein ye will make such diligence as that ye be ready with your said number to come unto us upon any our sudden warning. Given under our Signet at our Castle of Kenilworth.[1]

(b) How far the Spanish ambassador, Chapuys, influenced court circles against Anne cannot now be assessed, but that his own hatred of her was urged on by princess Mary is clear from his letter to the emperor Charles V concerning 'the divorce of this King from the Concubine'. He writes, 'I have since heard the will of the Princess, by which I meant to be guided, and which was that I should promote the matter . . . I accordingly used several means to promote the matter, both with Cromwell and with others, of which I have not hitherto written, awaiting some certain issue of the affair, which, in my opinion, has come to pass much better than anyone could have believed, to the great disgrace of the Concubine, who by the judgment of God has been brought in full daylight from Greenwich to the Tower of London.'[2] Like all diplomats he had his spies in the court, for when Anne was in the Tower he could write to Granville, 'The woman who has the English Messalina in charge will not conceal anything from me.'[3]

(c) *Anne Boleyn in prison.*

Letter from Sir William Kingston, lieutenant of the Tower,

[1] Ellis, *Original Letters*, 1st series i, pp. 19–21; Halliwell, *Letters*, i, p. 172.
[2] *Letters and Papers*, x, p. 330, no. 782.
[3] Ibid., x, p. 380, no. 909.

to Secretary Thomas Cromwell. (All these letters, MSS. Cotton. Otho. X. ff. 200b, 222–5.)

Thys ys to advertyse you upon my Lord of Norfolk and the kyngs counsell departynge from the Towre I went before the quene in to hyr lodgyng & then she sayd unto me, M. Kyngston, shall I go in to a dungyn? Now, madam, you shall go in to your lodgyng that you lay in at your coronacion. It ys to gude for me, she sayd, Jesu, have mercy on me; and kneled downe wepyng a great pace, and in the same sorow fell in to agret lawyng, and she hathe done so mony tymes syns. And then she desyred me to move the kyngs hynes that she myght have the sacrament in the closet by hyr chamb$^{r}$, that she myght pray for mercy, for I am as clere from the company of man as for syn, sayd she as I am clere from you, and am the kyngs trew wedded wyf; and then she sayd, M. Kyngston, do you know wher for I am here, and I sayd, Nay, and then she sayd when saw you the kyng? And I sayd, I saw hym not syns I saw him in the Tylte yerde, and then M.K. I pray you to tell me wher my Lord Rochford ys? and I told hyr I saw hym afore dyner in the cort. O where ys my swet broder? I sayd I left hym at York place, and so I dyd. I hear say, sayd she, that I shuld be accused with iij men; and I can say no more but nay, withyowt I shuld oppen my body, and ther wyth opyned her gown sayeng, O Norres, hast thow accused me, thow ar in the Towre with me, & thou and I shall dy together: and Marke, thou art here to. O my mother, thou wilt dy for sorow, and meche lamented my lady of Worcet$^{r}$, for by cause her child dyd not store in hyr body, and my wyf sayd what shold be the cause, she sayd for the sorow she toke for me: and then she sayd M. Kyngston shall I dy with yowt just$^{s}$; & I sayd, the porest sugett the kyng hath had justis and ther with she lawed. All thys sayings was yester nyght . . . & thys mornyng dyd talke with mestrys Cosyn, and sayd that Norres dyd say on Sunday last unto the quenes amner, that he wold swere for the quene that she was a gud woman. And then sayd Mrs. Cosyn, Madam, why shuld ther be hony seche maters spoken of? Mary, sayd she, I bad hym do so, for I asked hym why he went not thorough with hys maryage? and he made ansur he wuld tary a tyme. Then said she, you loke for ded mens showys; for yf owth

came to the kyng but good, you wold loke to have me; and he sayd, yf he shuld have any seche thought, he wold hys hed war of; and then she sayd, she could undo hym if she wold, and ther with thay fell yowt. But she sayd, she more feared Weston for on Wyssen Twysday last Weston told hyr that Norres cam more unto her chawmbre for her then for Mage, and further . . . [several lines missing]

Wher I was commaunded to charge the gentlewemen that y gyf thaye atende apon the quene, that ys to say, thay shuld have now commynycaseon with hyr, in lese (*unless*) my wyf ware present, and so I dyd hit, notwithstaundyng it canot be; for my lady Bolen and mestrys Cosyn lyes on the quenes palet, and I and my wyf at the dore with yowt, so at (*that*) thay must nedes talke at [*that*] be without; bot I have every thyng told me by mestrys Cosyn that she thynks met for mee to knowe, and tother ij gentlewemen lyes with yowt me, and as I may knowe the kyngs plesur in the premysses I shall folow. From the Towre this mo . . .

S^r^ syns the makyng of thys letter the quene spake of Weston that she had spoke to hym by cause he dyd love hyr kynswoman Mrs. Skelton, and that she sayd he loved not hys wyf; and he made anser to hyr again that he loved won in hyr howse bettr then them bothe; she asked hym, who is that? to which he ansered that it ys your self; and then she defyed hym.

Willm Kyngston.[1]

Letter from Kingston to Cromwell:

After your departyng yesterday, Greeneway gentilman yasher cam to me, & . . . M. Caro and Mast^r^ Bryan commaunded hym in the kyngs name to my Lord of Rotchfort from my lady hys wyf, and the message was now more . . . se how he dyd; and also she wold humly sut unto the kyngs hynes . . . for hyr husband; and so he gaf hyr thanks, and desyred me to know at what tyme he shuld cum affore the kyngs counsell, for I thynk I shall not cum forthe tyll I cum to my jogement, wepyng very. . . . I departed from hym, and when I cam to the chamb^r^ the quene heard of me and sent for

[1] MSS. Cott. Otho, xxx, c.x., fol. 225; Cavendish, *Wolsey*, ii, pp. 217–20.

me, and sayde I here say my lord my brother is here; it ys trowth, sayd I; I am very glad, said she, that we bothe be so ny together; and I showed hyr here wase . . . Weston and Brereton, and she made very gud countenans. . . . I also sayd, M. Page and Wyet wase mo, then she sayd he . . . on hys fyst tother day and ye here now bot ma. . . . I shall desyre you to bayre a letter from me to Master Secretory; and then I sayd, madam, tell it me by word of mouth & I will do it, and so gaf me thanks saying, I have moche marvell that the kyngs counsell comes not to me; and thys same day she sayd we shuld have now rayne tyll she ware delyvered owt of the Towre. I pray you it may be shortly by cause of the fayre wether. You know what I mayne. The quene sayd thys nyght that the kyng wyst not what he dyd when he put soche ij abowt hyr as my lady Boleyn and Mestres Cosyns, for thay cowd tell hyr now thyng of my lord hyr father nor nothyng ellys, but she defyed them all. Bot upon this my lady Boleyn sayd to hyr, seche desyre as you have had to soche tales hase browthe you to thys. And then sayd Mrs. Stoner, Marke ys the worst cheryssht of heny man in the howse, for he wayres yernes, she sayd that was becaus he was no gentleman. Bot he wase never in my chamb$^{r}$ but at Winchest$^{r}$, and ther she sent for hym to pley on the virginals, for there my logyng was above the kyngs . . . [several lines missing] . . . for I never spake with hym syns, but upon Saterday before May day, and then I fond hym standyng in the ronde wyndo in my chamb$^{r}$ of presens, and I asked why he wase so sad, and he ansured and sayd it was now mater, and then she sayd, you may not loke to have me speke to you as I shold do to anobull man, by cause you be aninferer persoon. . . . No, no, madam, aloke sufficed me; and thus far you well . . . she hathe asked my wyf whether heny body maks thayr bed . . . my wyf ansured ans sayd, nay, I warrant you, then she sayd . . . y myght make baletts Well now bot ther ys non bett . . . that can do it, yese sayd my wyf master Wyatt by . . . sayed trew.

. . . my lord my brod$^{r}$ will dy
. . . I am sur thys was as
. . . tt downe to den thys day

Willm Kyngston[1]

[1] Ibid., pp. 220–2.

Letter from Edward Baynton to the Treasurer.

M. Theasurer

This shalbe to advertyse yow that here is myche communycacion that noman will confesse any thyng agaynst her, but allonly Marke of any actuell thynge. Wherfore (in my folishe conceyte) it shulde myche toche the kyngs hono[r] if it shulde no farther appeere. And I cannot beleve but that the other two bee as fully culpapull as ever was hee. And I thynke assuredly the on kepith the others councell. As many . . . conjectures in my mynde causeth me to thynk . . . specially of the communycacion that was last betwene the quene and Master Norres. M[r] Aumener tolde me as I wolde I myght speke with M[r] Secretorie and yow together more playnely expresse my . . . yf case be that they have confessyd like wret . . . all thyngs as they shuld do than my n . . . at apoynte. I have mewsed myche . . . of mastres Margery whiche hath used . . . strangely toward me of late, being her frynde as I have ben. . . . I here further that the quene standith styfly in her opynyon that she wo . . . which I thynke is in the trust that she . . .

Edward Baynton.[1]

Letter from Sir William Kyngston to Secretary Cromwell, 16th May 1536.

Sir,

Thys day I was with the kyng's grace and declared the petysyons of my Lord of Rochford, wherin I was answred. Sir, the sayd lord meche desyreth to speke with you, weche towchet hys consyens meche as he sayth, wherin I pray you I may know your plesur, for by cause of my promysse made unto my sayd lord to do the same, and also I shall desyre you further to know the kyngs plesur towchyng the quene, as well for her comfyt as for the preparacion of skefolds and hother necessarys consernyng. The kyng's grace showed me that my lord of Cantorbury shuld be hyr confessar, and was here thys day with the quene; & not [*note*] in that mater, sir, the tyme ys short, for the kyng supposeth that the gentelmen

[1] Cavendish, ii, pp. 225–6.

to dy to morow, and my lord of Rocheford with the reysydew of gentelmen, & as zit with yowt confession weche I loke for, but I have told my lord of Rocheford that he be in aredynes to morow to suffer execusyon, and so he accepse it very well, and will do his best to be redy. Notwithstandyng he wold have reysayved hys ryghts, weche hathe not bene used and in especiall here. Sir, I shall desyre you at [*that*] we here may know the kyngs plesur here as shortly as may be, at [*that*] we here may prepayre for the same weche ys necessary, for the same we here have now may for to do execusyon. Sir, I pray you have gud rymembrance in all thys for hus to do, for we shalbe redy al ways to our knowlege. Zit thys day at dyner the quene sayd at [*that*] she shuld go to anonre & ys in hope of lyf, and thus far you well.

Willm Kyngston.[1]

Letter from Sir William Kyngston to Secretary Cromwell.

Syr,

Thys shalbe to advertyse you I have resayved your lett[r] wherin you wolde have strangerys conveyed yowt of the Towre and so thay be by the meanis of Richard Gressum, & Willm Loke, & Wythepoll, bot the nmbr of strangers past not .xxx. and not mony; Hothe and the inbassit of the emperor had a servaunt ther and honestly put yowt. S[r] yf we have not an owre serten as it may be knowen in London, I thynke here wilbe bot few and I thynk a resonable numbur ware bes; for I suppose she wyll declare hyr self to be a good woman for all men bot for the kyng at the o[r] [*hour*] of hyr deth. For thys mornyng she sent for me that I myght be with hyr at soche tyme asshe reysayved the gud lord to the in tent I shold here hyr speke as towchyng her innosensy alway to be clere. & in the writyng of thys she sent for me, and at my commyng she sayd, M. Kyngston, I hear saye I shall not dy affore none, & I am very sory ther fore; for I thowth than to be dede and past my payne. I told hyr it shuld be now payne it was so sottell. And then she sayd I hard say the execut[r] was very gud, and I have a lyttle necke, and put her hand abowt it lawyng hartely.

[1] Cavendish, ii, pp. 227–8.

I have sene mony men & also women executed and at [*that*] they have bene in grete sorrowe, and to my knowlege thys lady hathe meche joye and plesur in dethe. Sir, hyr Amner is continewally with hyr, and hasse byne syns ij of the clocke after midnight. This is the effect of hony thyng that ys here at thys tyme, and thus fare you well.

Willm Kyngston.[1]

[After Anne was sentenced] immedeatlie, the Lord of Rocheforde, her brother, was arreigned for treason, which was for knowinge the Queene, his sister, carnallie, moste detestable against the lawe of God and nature allso, and treason to his Prince, and allso for conspiracie of the Kinges death: Whereunto he made aunswere so prudentlie and wiselie to all articles layed against him, that marveil it was to heare, and never would confesse anye thinge, but made himselfe as cleare as though he had never offended. Howbeit he was there condemned by 26 lordes and barons of treason, and then my Lord of Northfolke gave him this judgment: That he should goe agayne to prison in the Tower from whence he came, and to be drawne from the said Towre of London thorowe the Cittie of London to the place of execution, called Tyburne, and there to be hanged, beinge alyve cutt downe, and then his members cutt of and his bowells taken owt of his bodie and brent before him, and then his head cutt of and his bodie to be divided in 4 $^{or}$ peeces, and his head and bodie to be sett at suche places as the King should assigne; and after this the court brake up for that tyme. The Major of London with certeyne Aldermen were present at this arreignment of the Queene and her brother, with the wardeins and 4 persons more of 12 of the principal craftes of London.

Allso the 17th day of May, beinge Weddensday, the Lord of Rocheforde, Mr. Norys, Mr. Bruton, Mr. Francis Weston, and Markys,[2] were all beheaded at the Tower-hill; and the Lord of Rochforde, brother to Queene Anne, sayde these wordes followinge on the scaffolde to the people with a lowde voyce: Maisters all, I am come hither not to preach

[1] Cavendish, ii, pp. 228–9.

[2] Mark Smeton was hanged.

and make a sermon, but to dye, as the lawe hath fownde me, and to the lawe I submitt me, desiringe you all, and speciallie you my maisters of the Courte, that you will trust on God speciallie, and not on the vanities of the worlde, for if I had so done, I thincke I had bene alyve as yee be now; allso I desire you to helpe to the settinge forthe of the true worde of God; and whereas I am sclaundered by it, I have bene diligent to reade it and set it forth trulye; but if I had bene as diligent to observe it, and done and lyved thereafter, as I was to reade it and sett it forthe, I had not come hereto, wherefore I beseche you all to be workers and lyve thereafter, and not to reade it and not lyve there after. As for myne offences, it can not prevayle you to heare them that I dye here for, but I beseche God that I may be an example to you all, and that all you may be wayre by me, and hartelye I require you all to pray for me, and to forgive me if I have offended you, and I forgive you all, and God save the Kinge. Their bodies with their heades were buried within the Tower of London; the Lord of Rochefordes bodie and head within the chappell of the Tower, Mr. Weston and Norys in the church yard of the same in one grave, Mr. Bruton and Markes in another grave in the same church yerde within the Tower of London.[1]

'One of her gentlewomen began to curse the Lady Anne Bulleyne, she answered: "Hold your peace. Curse her not, but pray for her, for the time will come shortly when you shall have much need to pity and lament her case." '[2] These words are always quoted to show Catherine's Christian forgiving spirit and her knowledge of Henry's wicked character, but it is equally possible that Catherine was well aware that Anne was the destined victim and spoke accordingly.

1536. An. Reg. 28.

She was tried by her peers, 26 in number (two covens), the Duke of Suffolk being the Chief. She was found guilty, and condemned to be either burnt or beheaded according to the King's pleasure.

May 19th. [At her execution she said], Masters, I heere

[1] Wriothesley, i, pp. 39–40.

[2] Harpsfield, *The Pretended Divorce*, p. 200.

humbly submit mee to the lawe, as the lawe hath iudged me, and as for mine offences, (I heere accuse no man) God knoweth them, I remit them to God, beseeching him to haue mercie on my soule, and I beseech Jesu saue my Soueraigne and master the King, the most godliest, noblest, and gentlest Prince that is, & long to raigne ouer you, which wordes shee spake with a smiling countenance; which done, shee kneeled downe on both her knees, and said, To Jesu Christ I commend my soule, with that word suddenly the hangman of Caleis smote off her head at one stroke with a sword.[4]

(d) *Letter of Jane Bulmer to Katherine Howard.*

If I could write unto you all the honour, wealth, and good fortune you could desire, you would neither lack health, wealth, long life, nor yet prosperity. Nevertheless, seeing as I cannot as I would expose this unto you I would with these my most hearty salutations pight you to know, that whereas it hath been shown unto me that God of his high goodness hath put the knowledge of the King a contract of matrimony that the queen Anne of Cleves hath made with another before she came to England, and therefore there will be a lawful divorce had between them; and as it is thought that the King of his goodness will put you in the same honour that she was in, which no doubt you be worthy to have, most heartily desiring you to have in your remembrance the unfeigned love that my heart has always borne towards you, which for the same kindness found in you again hath desired always your presence, if it might be so, above all other creatures, and the chance of fortune hath brought me, on the contrary, into the utmost misery of the world and most wretched life. Seeing no ways then, I can express in writing, and knowing no remedy of it, without you of your goodness will find me the means to get me to London, which will be very hard to do; but if you will write unto my husband and command him to bring me up, which I think he dare not disobey, for if it might be, I would fain be with you before you are in your honour; and in the mean season I beseech you to save some room for me, what you shall think fit yourself, for

[1] Stow (ed. 1615), p. 572.

the nearer I were to you the gladder I would be of it, what pains soever I did take.

I would write more unto you, but I dare not be so bold, for considering the great honour you are toward, it did not become me to put myself in presence; but the remembrance of the perfect honesty that I have always known to be in you, and the report of Sir George Seaford, which hath assured me that the same thing remains in you still, hath encouraged me to this. Whereupon I beseech you not to be forgetful of this my request; for if you do not help me, I am not likely to have worldly joys. Desiring you, if you can, to let me have some answer of this for the satisfying of my mind; for I know the queen of Britain will not forget her secretary, and favour you will show.

Your humble servant
With heart unfeigned
Joan Bulmer.

York, the 12th day of July.[1]

Undated letter alleged to have been written by Katherine Howard to Culpepper.[2]

Master Culpeper, I heartily recommend me unto you, praying you to send me word how that you do. I heard you were sick, and never longed so much for any thing as to see you. It makes my heart die to think I cannot be always in your company. Come when my lady Rocheforthe is here for then I shalbe best at leisure to be at your commandment. I thank you for promising to be good to that poor fellow my man, for when he is gone there is none I can trust to send to you. I pray you to gyve me a horse for my man, for I hys muche a do to get one; and ther for I praye send me one by hym; and yn so doying I am as I sade afor; and thus I take my leve of youw, trusting to se you sorttele a gane; and I wode you was wythe me now that you moutte se what pane I take wryting to you.

Yours as long as lyffe endures. Katheryn.

One thyng I had for gotton, and that hys to speke to my

[1] Strickland, *Queens*, iii, p. 119.
[2] *Letters and Papers*, xvi, p. 534, no. 1134.

man. In tret my man to tare here vytt me stell, for he sas wat somever you behyw he vel do et and.

(e) The Sixtene daie of Ianuary the Parliament began, in the which the Lordes and Commons assented, to desire of the Kyng certain peticions. First, that he would not vexe himself with the Quenes offence, and that she and Lady Rochford might be attainted by Parliament.

Also, becuse of protractying of tyme, whiche the more should bee to his vnquietnes, that he would vnder his greate Seale, geue his royal assent, without tariyng the end of the Parliament. . . . To the whiche peticions the kyng graunted, saiyng, that he thanked the Commons, that tooke his sorrowe to bee theirs. Whereupon the Quene and Lady Rocheforde were attainted by bothe the houses. And on Saturdaie beyng the seuenth daie of February, the Kyng sent his royall assent, by his great Seale: and then all the Lordes were in their Robes, and the Common house called vp, and there the acte redde, and his assent declared. And so on the thirtene daie, these twoo Ladies were behedded on the Grene.[1]

On February 1542 Katherine Howard was attainted in Parliament.

'Katherine Howard whom the King took to wife is proved to have been not of pure and honest living before her marriage, and the fact that she has since taken to her service one Francis Dereham, the person with whom she "used that vicious life before", and has taken as chamberer a woman who was privy to her naughty life before, is proof of her will to return to her old abominable life. Also she has confederated with lady Jane Rocheford, widow, late wife of Sir George Boleyn, late lord Rocheford, to "bring her vicious and abominable purpose to pass" with Thomas Culpeper, late one of the King's Privy Chamber, and has met Culpeper in "secret and vile place", at 11 o'clock at night, and remained with him until 3 a.m., with only "that baud, the lady Jane Rocheford". For these treasons, Culpeper and Dereham have been convicted and executed, and the Queen and

[1] Hall, p. 843.

lady Rochford stand indicted. The indictments of such as have lately suffered are hereby approved, and the said Queen and lady Rochford are, by authority of this Parliament, convicted and attainted of high treason, and shall suffer accordingly. . . . And where Agnes duchess of Norfolk, widow, and Katherine countess of Bridgewater, wife of Henry earl of Bridgewater, are indicted of misprision of treason for concealing the first treasons, and lord William Howard, lady Margaret Howard his wife, Edw. Walgrave, Kath. Tylney, Alice Restwold, Joan Bulmer, Anne Howard, Robt. Damporte, Malyn Tylney, Marg. Bannet, and Wm. Assheby have been convicted of the said misprision, all of them shall forfeit their goods to the King, and be imprisoned for life and the King shall take the revenues of their lands from Oct. 1 for the term of their lives. To avoid doubts in future, it is declared that the Royal assent given by commission shall be valid in all cases hereafter, that any lightness of the queen for the time being may be revealed to the King or his Council, and that an unchaste woman marrying the King shall be guilty of high treason.'[1]

(g) 1541. *Record of Pleas before Michael Dormer and others at the Guildhall of London on Thursday, 1 dec. 33 Hen. VIII.*

Lord Chancellor Audeley delivered divers inditments of high treason taken against Katherine queen of England, and others. Culpeper and Derham, being brought to the bar by Sir John Gage, constable of the Tower, severally plead not guilty. *Venire* awarded *instanter* and jury of Yorkshire sworn; but before they retired to consult on their verdict, and after sufficient and probable evidence had been given on the King's part, the said Culpeper and Derham severally plead guilty. The King's serjeants-at-law and attorney thereupon pray judgment.

Judgment, to be taken back to the Tower, and thence drawn through London to the gallows at Tyburn, and there hanged, cut down alive, disembowelled, and (they still living) their bowels burnt, beheaded and quartered.[2]

[1] *Letters and Papers*, xvii, p. 13, no. 28.
[2] Ibid., xvi, p. 649, no. 1395 (41).

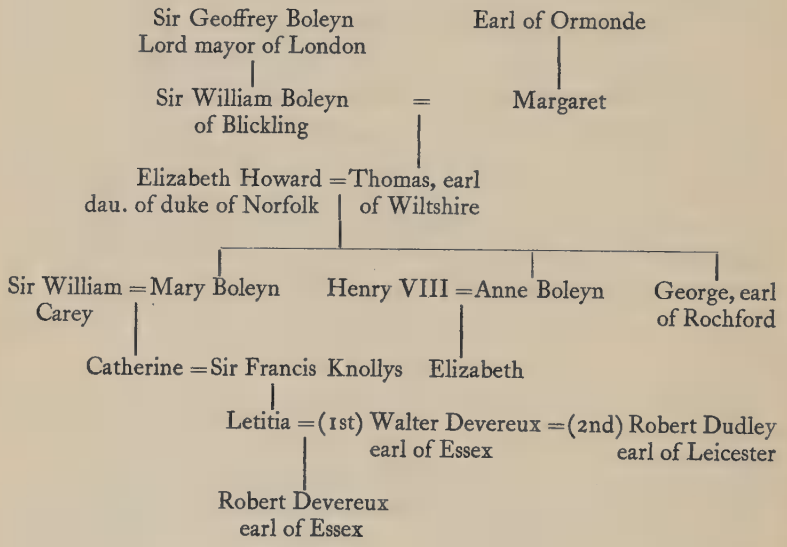
Letter of Richard Hales to Henry Bullenger.

One of the parties who was first hanged and afterwards beheaded and quartered for adultery with the Queen was one of the King's Chamberlains, and two years before or less had violated a park keeper's wife, whom three or four of his attendants held down for him in a thicket. But for this he was pardoned by the King, and likewise for a murder committed when some villagers tried to apprehend him for the same.[1]

[1] *Letters and Papers*, xvii, p. 709, Appendix 10.

## Appendix Six

(a) *Genealogy of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.*




(b) 1599. *March 12th.*

Commission to the Earl of Essex to be Lieutenant and Governor General of Ireland, to govern all persons there according to the laws and customs of that realm; with power to pardon treasons, restore traitors, grant lands, displace martial officers that have not patents, and sequester those that have; to make knights, command ships appointed for Ireland, and dispose of the Queen's treasure, with advice of the Council there, so that he exceed not the sum expressed in that establishment; but not to grant any fresh pensions.[1]

[1] *Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*, p. 168.

(c) *Letter of Sir Francis Bacon to the King with the King's marginal notes. The notes are printed here in italics.*

26th April 1616. 1. Whether your majesty will stay the trial, and so save them both from the stage, and that public ignominy. 2. Or whether you will, or may fitly by law, have the trial proceed, and stay or reprieve the judgment, which saveth the lands from forfeiture and the blood from corruption. 3. Or whether you will have both trial and judgment proceed, and save the blood only, not from corrupting, but from spilling.

Rex. *I say with Apollo*, Medio tutius itur, *if it may stand with law: and if it cannot, when I shall hear that he confesseth, I am then to make choice of the first or last.*

There be the depths of your majesty's mercy which I may not enter into; but for honour and reputation they have these grounds:

That the blood of Overbury is already revenged by divers executions.

That confession and penitency are the footstools of mercy: adding this circumstance likewise, that the former offenders did none of them make a clear confession.

That the great downfall of so great persons carrieth in itself a heavy judgment, and a kind of civil death, although their lives should not be taken.

All which may satisfy honour for sparing their lives. But if your majesty's mercy should extend to the first degree, which is the highest, of sparing the stage and the trial: then three things are to be considered:

First, That they make such a submission, or deprecation as they prostrate themselves, and all that they have, at your majesty's feet, imploring your mercy.

Rex. *This article cannot be mended in point thereof.*

Secondly, That your majesty, in your own wisdom, do advise what course you will take, for the utter extinguishing all hopes of resuscitating of their fortunes and favour; whereof if there should be the least conceit, it will leave in men a great deal of envy and discontent.

And lastly, whether your majesty will not *suffer it to be thought abroad* that there is cause of farther examination of

Somerset, concerning matters of estate, after he shall begin once to be a confessant, and so make as well as politic ground as a ground of clemency, for farther stay.

And for the second degree, of proceeding to trial, and staying judgment, I must better inform myself by precedents, and advise with my lord chancellor.

The second case is, if that fall out which is likest, as things stand, and which we expect, which is, that the lady confess; and that Somerset himself plead not guilty, and be found guilty.

REX. *If stay of judgment can stand with the law, I could even wish it in this case: in all the rest this article cannot be amended.*

In this case first, I suppose your majesty will not think of any stay of judgment, but that the public process of justice pass on.

Secondly, for your mercy to be extended to both for pardon of their execution, I have partly touched on in the considerations applied to the former case; whereunto may be added, that as there is ground of mercy for her, upon her penitency and free confession, and will be much more upon his finding guilty; because the malice on his part will be thought the deeper source of the offence, so there will be ground for mercy upon his part, upon the nature of the proof; and *because it rests chiefly upon presumptions*. For certainly there may be an evidence so balanced, as it may have sufficient matter for the conscience of the peers to convict him, and yet leave sufficient matter in the conscience of a king upon the same evidence to pardon his life; because the peers are astringed by necessity either to acquit or condemn; but grace is free; and for my part, I think the evidence in this present case will be of such a nature.

Thirdly, it shall be my *care so to moderate the manner of charging him*, as might make him not odious beyond the extent of mercy.

REX. *That danger is well to be foreseen, lest he upon the one part commit unpardonable errors, and I one the other part seem to punish him in the spirit of revenge.*

Lastly, All these points of mercy and favour are to be understood with this limitation, if he do not, by his con-

temptuous and insolent carriage at the bar, make himself incapable and unworthy of them.

The third case is, if he should stand mute and will not plead, whereof, your majesty knoweth, there hath been some secret question.

In this case I should think fit, that, as in public, both myself, and chiefly my Lord Chancellor, sitting then as lord Steward of England, should dehort and deter him from that desperation; so nevertheless, that as much should be done for him, as was done for Weston; which was to adjourn the court for some days, upon a Christian ground, that he may have time to turn from that mind of destroying himself; during which time your majesty's farther pleasure may be known.

REX. *This article cannot be mended.*

The fourth case is that which I should be very sorry it should happen, but it is a future contingent; that is, *if the peers should acquit him* and find him not guilty.

In this case the lord Steward must be provided what to do. For as hath been never seen, as I conceive it, that there should be any rejecting of the verdict, or any respiting of the judgment of the acquittal; so on the other side this case requireth, that because there be many high and heinous offences, though not capital, for which he may be questioned in the star-chamber, or otherwise, that there be *some touch of that* in general at the conclusion, by my lord Steward of England; and that therefore he be remanded to the Tower as close prisoner.

REX. *This is so also.*[1]

(d) *Letter from Sir Francis Bacon to Sir George Villiers. May* 2. 1616.

I have received my letter from his majesty with his marginal notes, which shall be my directions, being glad to perceive I understand his majesty so well. That same *little charm, which may be secretly infused* into Somerset's ear some few hours before his trial, was excellently well thought of by his majesty; and I do approve it both for matter and time; only

[1] Amos, pp. 429–32.

if it seem good to his majesty, I would wish it a little enlarged: for if it be no more than to spare his blood, he hath a kind of proud humour which may overwork the medicine. Therefore I could wish it were made a little stronger, by giving him some hopes that his majesty will be good to his lady and child; and that time, when justice and his majesty's honour is once saved and satisfied, may produce farther fruit of his majesty's compassion; which was to be seen in the example of Southampton, whom his majesty, after attainder restored; and Cobham and Gray, to whom his majesty, notwithstanding they were offenders against his own person, yet he spared their lives; and for Gray, his majesty gave him back some part of his estate, and was upon point to deliver him some more. He [Somerset] having been higher in his majesty's favour, may hope well; if he hurt not himself by his public misdemeanour.

For the person that should deliver this message, I am not so well seen in the region of his friends, as to be able to make choice of a particular; my lord treasurer, the Lord Knollys, or any of his nearest friends, should not be trusted with it, for they may go too far, and perhaps work contrary to his majesty's ends. Those which occur to me, are my lord Hay, my lord Burleigh, of England I mean, and Sir Robert Carre. . . .

Yesterday being Wednesday, *I spent four or five hours with the judges* whom his majesty designed to take consideration with, the judges of the king's Bench, of the evidence against Somerset; they all concur in opinion, that the questioning and drawing him on to trial is most honourable and just, and that the evidence is fair and good.[1]

Bacon to Sir George Villiers. May 5, 1616.

I am far enough from opinion, that the redintegration and resuscitation of Somerset's fortune can ever stand with his majesty's honour and safety; and therein I think I expressed myself fully to his majesty in one of my former letters; and I know well any expectation or thought abroad will do much hurt: But yet the *glimmering* of that which the king hath

[1] Amos, pp. 433, 434.

done to others, *by way of talk* to him, cannot hurt, as I conceive; but I would not have that part of the message as from the King, but added *by the messenger*, as from himself. This I remit to his majesty's princely judgment.

For the person, though he trust the lieutenant well, yet it must be some new man, for in these cases, that which is ordinary worketh not so great impressions as that which is new and extraordinary.

The time I wish to be the Tuesday, being the even of his lady's arraignment: for, as his majesty first conceived, I would not have it stay in his stomach too long, lest it sour in the digestion; and to be too near the time, may be thought but to tune him for that day.

I send herewithal the substance of that which I propose to say nakedly, and only in that part which is of *tenderness*; for that I conceive was his majesty's meaning.

It will be necessary, because I have distributed parts to the two serjeants, as that paper doth express, and they understand nothing of his majesty's pleasure of the manner of carrying the evidence more than they may guess by observation of my example, which they may ascribe as much to my nature as to direction; therefore that his majesty would be pleased to write some few words to us all, signed with his own hand, that, the matter itself being tragical enough, bitterness and insulting be forborn; and that we remember our part to be to make him delinquent to the peers, and not odious to the people.[1]

[In a letter to the King, Bacon expresses exactly what he means to do, "The course I mean to run in a kind of generality, putting the imputation (of treason) rather upon Overbury than Somerset."[2]]

Letter from Sir Francis Bacon to Sir George Villiers, 16th May 1616.

The reason why I set so small a distance of time between the use of the *little charm*, or, as his Maj^ty better terms it, the *evangel*, and the day of his trial, notwithstanding his Maj^ty

[1] Amos, p. 435.
[2] Ibid., p. 445.

being so far off, as advertisement of success and thereupon could not go and come between, was chiefly, for that his Majty from whom the overture of that first moved, did write but of a few hours, that this should be done, which I turned into days. Secondly, because the hope I had of effect by that means, was rather of attempting him at his arraignment, than of confession before his arraignment. But I submit to his Majty's better judgment.

The person, by your first description, which was without name, I thought had been meant of Packer, but now I perceive it is another, to be unknown, but, as it seemeth, very fit. I doubt not but he came with sufficient warrant to Mr Lieutenant to have access. In this I have no more to do, but to expect to hear from his Majty how this worketh.

The letter from his Majty to myself and the Serjeants I have received, such as I wished; and I will speak with the Commissioners, that he may, by the Lieutenant, understand his Majty's *care* of him, and the tokens herein of his Majty's *compassion* towards him.

I ever had a purpose to make use of that circumstance, that Overbury, the person murdered, was his Majty's prisoner in the Tower; which indeed is a strong pressure of his Majty's justice. For Overbury is the first prisoner to be murdered in the Tower, since the murder of the two young Princes by Richard the Third.

I would not trouble his Majty with any points of preamble, nor of the evidence itself, more than that part nakedly, wherein was the *tenderness*, in which I am glad his Majty by his postils, which he returned to me, approveth my judgment. . . .

Now I am warranted, I will not stick to say openly, I am commanded, not to *exasperate*, nor to aggravate the matter in question of impoisonment with any other collateral charges of disloyalty, or otherwise, wherein, besides his Majty's principal intention, there will be some use to save the former bruits of Spanish matters.

[The next paragraph refers to the methods to induce Lady Somerset to confess, advising that 'Mr Whiting, the preacher, a *discreet* Man, should preach before the Lady, and teach her, and move her generally to a clear confession'.]

It is thought that on the day of her trial the Lady will confess the indictment; which if she do, no evidence ought to be given. But because it shall not be a dumb shew, and for his Majtys honour in so solemn an Assembly, I purpose to make a declaration of the proceedings of this great work of justice, from the beginning to the end, wherein, nevertheless, I will be careful no ways to prevent or discover the evidence of the next day.

In this my lord Chancellor and I have likewise used a *point of providence*: for I did forecast, that if in that narrative, by the connection of things, any thing should be spoken, that should shew him guilty, she might break forth into passionate protestations for his clearing; which, though it may be justly made light of, yet it is better avoided. Therefore, my Lord Chancellor and I have devised, that upon the entrance into that declaration she shall, in respect of her weakness, and not to add farther affliction, be withdrawn.

It is impossible, neither it is needful, for me to express all the particulars of my care in their business. But I divide myself into all cogitations as far as I can foresee; being very glad to find, that his Majty doth not only accept well of my care and advices, but that he applieth his directions so fully, as guideth me from time to time.[1]

(e) *Undated letter from Bacon to the King, written before the trial.*

*It may please your Majesty*

We have done our best endeavours to perform your majesty's commission, both in matter and manner, for the examination of my lord of Somerset; wherein that which passed, for the general, was to this effect: That he was to know his own case, for that his day of trial could not be far off; but that the day's work was that which would conduce to your majesty's justice little or nothing, but to your mercy much, if he did lay hold upon it; and therefore might do him good, but could do him no hurt. For as for your justice, there had been taken great and grave opinion, not only of such judges as he may think violent, but of the most sad and

[1] Amos, pp. 436–8.

most temperate of the kingdom, who ought to understand the state of the proofs, that the evidence was full to convict him, so as there needeth neither confession, nor supply of examination. But for your majesty's mercy, although he were not to expect we should make any promise, we did assure him, that your majesty was compassionate of him if you gave him some ground whereon to work; that as long as he stood upon his innocency and trial, your majesty was tied in honour to proceed according to justice; and that he little understood, being a close prisoner, how much the expectation of the world, besides your love to justice itself, engaged your majesty, whatsoever your inclinations were; but nevertheless that a frank and clear confession might open the gate of mercy, and help to satisfy the point of honour.

That his lady, as he knew, and that after many oaths and imprecations to the contrary, had nevertheless in the end, being touched with remorse, confessed; that she that led him to offend, might lead him likewise to repent of his offence: that the confession of one of them could not fitly do either of them much good, but the confession of both of them might work some farther effect towards both: and, therefore, in conclusion, we wished him not to shut the gate of your majesty's mercy against himself, by being obdurate any longer. This was the effect of that which was spoken, part by one of us, part by another, as it fell out; adding farther, that he might well discern *who* spake in us in the course we held; for that commissioners for examination might not presume so far of themselves.

Not to trouble your majesty with circumstances of his answers, the sequel was no other, but that we found him still *not to come any degree farther on to confess*; only his behaviour was very sober, and modest, and mild, differing apparently from other times, but yet, as it seemed, *resolved to have his trial.*

Then did we proceed to examine him upon divers questions touching the empoisonment, which indeed were very material and supplemental to the former evidence; wherein either his affirmatives gave some light, or his negatives do greatly falsify him in that which is apparently proved.

We made this farther observation; that when we asked

him some question that did touch the prince or some foreign practice, which we did very sparingly at this time, yet he grew a little stirred, but in the questions of the empoisonment very cold and modest.

Postscript. If it seem good unto your majesty, we think it not amiss *some preacher*, *well chosen*, had access to my lord of Somerset for his preparing and comfort, although it be before his trial.[1]

(f) *Bacon's notes.*

Questions legal for the Judges

Whether the axe is to be carried before the prisoner, being in the case of felony?

Whether, if the lady make any digression to clear his lordship, she is not by the lord Steward to be interrupted and silenced?

Whether, if my lord of Somerset should break forth into any speech *of taxing the King*, he be not presently by the lord Steward to be interrupted and silenced, and if he persist he be not to be told that if he take that course, he is to be withdrawn, and evidence to be given in his absence? And whether that may be; and what else to be done?

Whether, if there should be twelve votes to condemn, and twelve *or thirteen* to acquit, it be not a verdict for the king?

Questions of Convenience whereupon his Majesty may confer with some of his Council

Whether, if Somerset confess at any time before his trial, his majesty shall stay trial in respect of farther examination, concerning practice of treason, as the death of the late prince, the conveying into Spain of the now prince, or the like; for till he confess the less crime, there is [no] likelihood of confessing the greater.

Whether, if the trial upon that reason shall be put off, it shall be discharged privately by dissolving the commission or discharging the summons? Or, whether it shall not be done in open court, the peers being met, and the solemnity and celebrity preserved, and that with some declaration of the cause of putting off the farther proceeding?

[1] Amos, pp. 439–41.

Whether the days of her trial and his shall be immediate, as it is now appointed, or a day between, to see, if after consideration, the lady will confess of this lord, which done, there is no doubt but he will confess himself?

Whether his trial shall not be set first, and hers after, because then any conceit, which may be wrought by her clearing of him, may be prevented; and it may be he will be in the better temper, hoping of his own clearing, and of her respiting?

A particular remembrance for his Majesty

It were good, that after he is come into the Hall, so that he may perceive he must go to trial, and shall be retired into the place appointed till the court call for him, then the lieutenant should tell him roundly, that if in his speeches he shall tax the king, that *the justice of England* is, that he shall be taken away, and the *evidence shall go on without him*, and then all the people will cry *away with him;* and then it shall not be in the king's will to save his life, the people will be set on fire.[1]

[1] Amos, pp. 441–3.

## Appendix Seven

(a) *The word Coven.*

The existence of Covens is well established from the early records, but the actual word does not seem to occur in writing till 1330, when the widow and son of the earl of Kent presented a petition to Parliament accusing Sir Roger de Mortimer of having engineered the attainder and execution of the earl. In this petition the word is used to denote a body of thirteen men, apparently bound to one another under a leader. As no explanation is given, the word must have been in common use with a well understood meaning.

'Ces sont les Tresons, Felines, et Malveistes, faites a nostre Seignur le Roi et a son Poeple par Roger de Mortymer, & autres de sa covyne.

'(3rd Item) Et puis le dit Roger, & ceux de sa covyne, menerent le dit nre Seignur le Roi arme sur le dit Counte de Lancastre, et les autres Pieres de la terre. . . .

'(5th Item) Par la ou le dit Roger savoit bien q le Piere nre Seignur le Roi estoit mort & enterre, il par autres de sa covyne en deceyvante manere fist entendre au Counte de Kent q̄ le dit Piere nre Seignur le Roi fust en vie.

'(10th Item) Le dit Roger, par le dit Roial Poer a lui acroche, fi ad pris & fait prendre pur lui & les autres de sa covyne du Tresor le Roi a sa volunte, sanz noumbre, en Deniers & en Jueux.

'(12th Item) Le dit Roger, par son dit Roial Poer, fist ses prises parmy le Roialme sicome il eust este Roi; et entre lui et ceux de sa covyne mesnerent au double des Gentz de Chevalx en la compaignie le Roi q̄ ne fist nre Seign$^{r}$ le Roi & la Roigne, en destruction du poeple, sanz faire paiement autre q̄ a lur volunte demeigne.

'(14th Item) Le dit Roger compassa d'aver destruyt les

Nurriz le Roi & ceux q̄ furent les plus Secrez, desqueux le Roi plus s'assia, et surmist au Roi en la presence la Roigne sa miere, les Evesqes de Nicole & Salesbirs, et autres du Conseil le Roi, Qe les avantditz ses Secrez lui exciteront d'estre de la covyne de ses Enemis par dela, en destruction de la Roigne sa miere et du did Roger, laquele chose il afferma tant sur le Roi q̄ la parole le Roi ne poeit estre creu a contraire de son dit.'[1]

'Lesquelles Petitions leues devant nre Seign^r le Roi, Prelatz, Countes, Barouns, & autres Grantez en mesme le Parlement, nre dit Seign' le Roi, eant regard a ce q̄ Roger de Mortymer nadgaires Counte de la Marche, & aucuns autres acrochantz a eux Roial Poer, et Sire Simon de Bereford, Johan Mautravers le puisne, Chivaler, Boeges de Bayons, Chivaler, & Johan Deveroil, & autres malveises gentz de lur covyne, compassantz en deceyvante manere la mort le dit Counte de Kent par covyne entre eux faite, donerent & fesoient doner a entendre a mesme le Counte, q̄ Sire Edward, nadgaires Roi d'Engleterre, Piere nre Seignur le Roi q̄ ore est, & Frere le dit Counte, estoit en vie, par la ou il fu mort grant temps devant.'[2]

'La tierz nuyt apres cestez punyes sez delogerent les Ecocez et sen alerent en lour pays, qi graunt damage auoint faict en Engleterre, si encountrerent meisme le iour de lour departire od Patrick count del Marche et od Johan le Seneschal, qi se desoit count Dangous, od. v. mil. homs dez gentz Descoces, qi venoit en rescous de coar qi lez auoint oy dire assagez.'[3] Leland summarizes the battle: 'Shortely after the Scottes by covine fledde clere away from Stanhope Park in the night.'

The word Covyne occurs again in a parliamentary document of the time of Edward IV, when Henry VI is accused of being the 'actour, factour, and provoker of the seid commocion, and assentyng of Covyne with the seid Margarete, Henry duke of Somerset, and Henry late Erle of Northumberland in a bataille.'[4]

[1] *Rot. Parl.* Ed. III (1330), ii, p. 52–3.
[2] Ibid., p. 55.
[3] Gray, *Scalacronica*, p. 155.
[4] *Rot. Parl.*, v, p. 476.

2. In truth there ought to be in France twelve peers, to wit, three dukes and three counts, spiritual; and three dukes and three counts, temporal; as appears in the lines:

> Dukes temporal in France are three;
> First name we him of Burgundy;
> And peers of him are princes twain,
> Of Normandy and Aquitaine.
>
> High prelates of the same degree
> Of rank are also counted three;
> Their sees are Rheims, a mighty one,
> And Langres next, and eke Laon.
>
> Great counts we number three again,
> Of Toulouse, Flanders and Champagne;
> And bishops in the same array
> Of Chalons, Noyon, and Beauvais.[1]

(b) *Irish Kings who submitted to Henry II:*

1. King of Conach
2. Deruntius king of Corke
3. Morice king of Methe
4. King of Uriel
5. Duuenald king of Ossory
6. Duuenald king of Limerike
7. Machachelin
8. Opehlon
9. Machaleny
10. Othnethely
11. Gillemehelmach
12. Ocadecie
13. Ocaruell[2]

12. Signatories to the deed of gift of England to the pope.

1. H. Dublinensi archiepiscopo—Henry archbishop of Dublin
2. Johannae Norwicensi episcopo—John bishop of Norwich
3. Galfrido filio Petri—Geoffrey Fitz-Peter

[1] *Adam of Usk*, (ed. 1904), pp. 106, 285.
[2] Stow, p. 152.

4. W. comite Sarisburie—William earl of Salisbury
5. Wilhelmo comite Pembroc—William earl of Pembroke
6. R. comite Bononiae—Reginald count of Boulogne
7. W. comite de Warenne—William earl of Warenne
8. S. comite Winton—Sayer earl of Winton
9. W. comite Arundel—William earl of Arundel
10. W. comite Ferariis—William earl of Ferrars
11. W. Briwere—William Briuere
12. Petro filio Hereberti—Peter Fitz-Herebert
13. Warin filio Geroldi—Warin Fitz-Gerald[1]

(c) *Council to advise the king.*

| *Appointed by the king* | *Appointed by the barons* |
|---|---|
| 1. Henry of Cornwall | 1. Earl of Gloucester |
| 2. Sir John of Warenne | 2. Earl of Leicester |
| 3. Ethelmar of Lusignan | 3. Earl of Hereford |
| 4. Guy of Lusignan | 4. Earl of Norfolk |
| 5. William of Lusignan | 5. Roger Mortimer |
| 6. Earl of Warwick | 6. John Fitz-Geoffrey |
| 7. John Mansel | 7. Hugh Bigod |
| 8. John Darlington | 8. Richard de Gray |
| 9. A Friar, afterwards archbishop of Dublin | 9. William Bardulf |
| 10. Abbot of Westminster | 10. Peter de Montfort |
| 11. Henry Wengham | 11. Hugh le Despenser |
| 12. Bishop of London | 12. Walter de Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester |
| 13. (probably) Archbishop Boniface | |

These, with the addition of the king, make two covens.[2]

Fabyan has apparently made a selection of twelve names from the two lists, who with the king make one coven.

1. Archbishop of Canterbury
2. Bishop of Worcester

[1] Roger of Wendover, ii, p. 269.
[2] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, ii, p. 81.

3. Sir Roger Bigot, earl of Norfolk
4. Sir Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester
5. Sir Richard Clare, earl of Gloucester
6. Sir Henry Bohun, earl of Hereford
7. Sir John Mansell, Chief Justice of England
8. Sir Roger Mortimer
9. Sir Hugh Bygrave
10. Sir Peter de Savoy
11. Sir James Audley
12. Sir Peter de Mountford[1]

1318. Proposed Council:

1. The King
2. Thomas, earl of Lancaster
3. Humfrey Bohun, earl of Hereford
4. Sir John Mowbray, Baron
5. Sir Roger Clifford, Baron
6. Sir Goslin Danyell, Baron
7. Sir Roger Tuckett
8. Sir Roger Benefielde
9. Sir Roger Mortimer
10. Sir William Sulland
11. Sir William Elmenbridge
12. Sir John Gifford
13. Sir John Tyers[2]

*The Coven of Sir Roger Mortimer*

1. Sir Roger Mortimer
2. Sir Thomas de Berkeley
3. Simon de Bereford
4. John Maltravers
5. Bogo de Bayons
6. John Deveroil
7. Thomas de Gournay
8. William de Ocle
9. John Tilly
10. Robert Lynd
11. William de Kingsclere
12. Sir Richard de Well
13. John le Spicer

Mortimer was executed on 29th November 1330; Bereford was executed on 22nd December 1330; Berkeley man-

[1] Fabyan, p. 343.
[2] Ibid., p, 423.

aged to exculpate himself. The rest of the coven were condemned *in absentia*. Rewards were offered for the capture of two of the principal members, Gurney and Ogle. For Gurney £100 if taken alive, 100 marks if dead. For Ogle, 100 marks if alive, £40 if dead. After three years Gurney was captured but died before he reached England.

See *Rot. Parl.* ii; *Archaeologia*, xxvii, 275.

Mortimer was 'hangyd uppon a comyn galowys of thevys'. (Gregory's *Chronicle*, p. 79.)

(d) *Richard II's coronation honours: four earls and nine knights.*

1. Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham
2. Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham
3. Guischard of Gifford, Angolisme, Earl of Huntingdon
4. Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland
5. Edward, son of the Earl of Kent
6. John, son of Thomas Roos
7. Richard de Gray
8. Richard, son of Gilbert Talbot
9. Gerard, son of Warine de Lisle
10. Michael, son of Michael de la Pole
11. Richard de Poynings
12. Robert de Harrington
13. Thomas de la More[1]

*Arraigned by Parliament*, 1388

1. Sir Simon Burley, K.G., Chief Counsellor and Chief Official. Exec. May 15th. The Duke of Gloucester said to King Richard: 'If you wish to be King, Burley must die.' (*Rot. Parl.* iii, 431.) (F)
2. Sir John Beauchamp, Lord Steward of the King's household. Exec. May 22nd (F)
3. Sir John Salisburie. Exec. (F)
4. Sir John Berners. Exec. (F)

[1] Stow, p. 279.

5. Nicholas Brember. Exec. (F)
6. Robert Tressillian. Chief Justice. Exec. (F)
7. Thomas Uske. Under-sheriff of London. Exec. (F)
8. John Blake of the King's household. Exec.
9. Sir Roger Belknape. Justice. Banished. (F)
10. Sir John Carre. Justice. Banished.
11. Sir John Holte. Justice. Banished. (F)
12. Sir Roger Fulthorpe. Justice. Banished. (F)
13. Sir William Brough. Justice. Banished. (F)
14. John Locton. Sergeant at Law. Banished. (F)
15. Richard Grey. Justice. Banished. (F)
16. Richard Clifford
17. Nicholas Slake. Dean of the King's Chapel
18. John Lincolne
19. Sir William Elmham. Released
20 Sir Nicholas Dagworth. Realesed
21. Sir Thomas Trivet. Released
22. Richard Medford. Clerk
23. Alexander Neville, Archbishop of York. Escaped to France
24. Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. Fled to France
25. Sir John Golefare. Remained in France
26. Robert Vere, Duke of Ireland, K.G. Fled[1]

*Removed from the Court but not sent to prison*, 1388

1. John Fordham, Bishop of Durham
2. Lord Beamont, K.G.
3. Lord William de la Soutch
4. Lord Burnell
5. Sir John Lovell
6. Lord Thomas Camoys
7. Thomas, son of Lord Clifford
8. Baldwin Burford
9. Thomas Rushoke, Bishop of Chichester, King's Confessor
10. Aubrey de Vere
11. Richard Aberbery
12. John Worth
13. Lady Maine
14. Lady Poines
15. Lady Molineaux[2]

[1] Stow, pp. 302–4. The F against the names refers to Fabyan (p. 534) who gives the names of only thirteen, i.e. one coven.

[2] Ibid., p. 303.

*Conspirators to dethrone Henry IV and restore Richard II*

1. Matilda de Veer, countess of Oxford
2. Galfr, Abbot of St. John's, Colchester
3. William Aylewy
4. John Wrythook
5. Thomas, Abbot of St. Osyth
6. Thomas, Abbot of Byleigh
7. William Kylmyngton
8. Thomas Somerton
9. Robert Doloyne
10. John Sumpter (sen.)
11. John Sumpter (jun.)
12. John Beche (sen.)
13. John Beche (jun.)
14. Richard Beche, son of John Beche
15. John Herst, co-monk of aforesaid Abbot of St. John's
16. William Denton, co-monk of same Abbot
17. Phus ffytz Eustace
18. William Blythe
19. John Russell, serviens
20. William Aylewy
21. John Staunton, knight
22. Thomas Veel
23. Richard Mistelleigh
24. John Ekleshale
25. John Thorpe
26. Simon Warde[2]

(e) *Covens at the submission of Richard, duke of York, to Henry VI*, 1452

1. Henry VI
2. Richard, Duke of York
3. Duke of Buckingham
4. Duke of Northampton
5. Duke of Somerset
6. Earl of Warwick
7. Earl of Arundel
8. Earl of Salisbury
9. Earl of Shropshire
10. Earl of Devonshire
11. Earl of Wiltshire
12. Earl of Northumberland
13. Earl of Stafford
14. Earl of Dorset
15. Viscount Beaumont
16. Viscount Wells
17. Baron Fitzwarren
18. Baron Sainmond
19. Baron Cobham
20. Baron Douglas
21. The Cardinal
22. Archbishop of Canterbury
23. Archbishop of York
24. Bishop of Winchester
25. Bishop of Ely
26. Bishop of London[3]

[1] Stow, p. 269.

[2] *Traison*, p. 268. The name of William Aylewy (nos. 3, 20) occurs twice in the above list, but in the list of persons concerned in the dilapidations of Renesby Abbey is the name of William Breton, servant of Matilda de Veer, occurs with others of the main list.

[3] Ibid, p. 395.

(f) *Henry VII*

1493. An. reg. 8, age 36. Supporters of Perkin Warbeck. 'The Chiefe Captaines of the conspiracie'.

1. Sir Robert Clifford, fled
2. William Birley, fled
3. John Ratcliffe, knight
4. Lord Fitzwalter, executed
5. Sir Simon Mountforte, executed
6. Sir Thomas Thwaite
7. William Daubeny, executed
8. Robert Ratcliffe, executed
9. Thomas Chressener
10. Thomas Astewoode
11. Sir George Neville
12. Sir John Taylor
13. Rowland Robinson

One coven. Four executed, two fled, the rest pardoned.[1]

1495. [When some of Perkin Warbeck's soldiers who landed in Kent withdrew to their ships, the Mayor of Sandwich] bikered with the residue that were vppon lande, and tooke aliue of them 169. persons, among the which were fiue Captaines *Mountfort*, *Corbet*, *White Belt*, *Quintin*, & *Genine*. And on the twelfth of Julie syr *Iohn Pechy*, Sheriffe of Kent, brought vnto London bridge those 169. persons, where ye Sheriffes of London, *Nicholas Alwine* and *Iohn Warner* receiued and conueied them, railed in roves (rowes?) like horses in a cart, vnto the tower of London, and to Newgate, and shortlie after to the number of 150. were hanged about the sea coasts in Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Norfolke; the residue were executed at Tiborne and at Wapping in the Whose besides London; and Perkin fled into Flanders.

169 persons, i.e. 13 covens.[2]

(g) 1532. *Gentlemen accompanying Henry to France*

The duke of Richmond, Henry's bastard son, is mentioned by himself, and is therefore not included in the list.

[1] Stow, pp. 477–8.
[2] Stow, p. 479.

Duke of Suffolk
Duke of Norfolk
Marquis of Exeter
Earl of Derby
Earl of Arundel
Earl of Oxford
Earl of Surrey
Earl of Rutland
Viscount Lisle
Lord Maltravers
Lord Sands
Lord William Howard
Lord Bray
Lord Montague
Lord Cobham
Lord Mordant
Lord Daubney
Lord Grey
Lord Clinton
Lord Vaux
Lord Mounteagle
Lord Rocheford
Bishop of Winchester
Bishop of London
Bishop of Lincoln
Bishop of Bath
Sir Wm. FitzWilliam
Sir Wm. Pawlet
Sir Wm. Kingstone
Sir Io. Page
Sir James Boleine
Sir Anthony Browne
Sir Edward Neuill
Sir Thomas Cheiney
Sir Iohn Russell
Sir Richard Page
Sir Ralph Eldercare
Sir Edward Baynton
Sir Edward Santener
Sir Griffith Deane
Sir Io. Dudley
Sir Iohn Femer
Sir Henry Long
Sir Anthony Hungerford
Sir Iohn Brudges
Sir Arthur Hopton
Sir Anthony Wingfield
Sir William Paston
Sir Edmond Bedingfield
Sir Thomas Strange
Sir William Hawte
Sir Edward Wotton
Sir William Askew
Sir Iohn Marleant
Sir William Barington
Sir Iohn Neuill
Sir William Essex
Sir Giles Strangweis
Sir Edward Chamberlaine
Sir Giles Caple
Sir Iohn Sent-Iohn
Sir Walter Hungerford
Sir W. Gascoine
Sir Lionel Norris
Sir Edward Boloine
Sir Thomas Lisle
Sir Iohn Ashton
Sir Thomas Palmer
Sir William Boloine
Sir William Finche
Sir William Pellam
Sir Thomas Rotherham
Sir Iohn Norton
Sir Richard Sands

and thirty esquires, making altogether 104 persons or eight covens. Two covens consisted of peers, lay and spiritual.

The duke of Richmond, who was of the blood royal, was was the chief or Grandmaster.[1]

*Edward VI.* Honours given after the battle of Musklebrough or Pinkerslough. The first three were made bannerets, the rest knights.

1. Sir Raufe Sadler
2. Sir Fraunces Brian
3. Sir Raufe Auane[2]
4. Lord Gray of Wilton
5. Lord Edward Seymer
6. Lord Thomas Haward
7. Lord Waldike
8. Sir Thomas Dacres
9. Sir Edward Hastinges
10. Sir Edward Bruges
11. Sir Iohn Thinne
12. Sir Miles Partridge[3]
13. Sir Iohn Conway
14. Sir Gyles Poole
15. Sir Raufe Pagnall
16. Sir Oliuer Laurence
17. Sir Henry Gates
18. Sir Thomas Chaloner
19. Sir Fraunces Fleming
20. Sir Iohn Gresham
21. Sir William Skipwith
22. Sir Iohn Buttes
23. Sir George Blagge
24. Sir William Fraunces
25. Sir Fraunces Knolles
26. Sir William Thorborow
27. Sir George Haward
28. Sir Iames Wilford
29. Sir Raufe Copinger
30. Sir Thomas Wentworth
31. Sir Iohn Maruen
32. Sir Nicholas Straunge
33. Sir Charles Sturton
34. Sir Hugh Askew
35. Sir Fraunces Dalmyn
36. Sir Richard Townley
37. Sir Marmaduke Constable
38. Sir George Audeley
39. Sir Iohn Holcroft
40. Sir Iohn Wentworth
41. Sir Thomas Danby
42. Sir Iohn Talbot
43. Sir Rowland Clerke
44. Sir Iohn Horsley
45. Sir Iohn Forster
46. Sir Henry Hossey
47. Sir Walter Bonham
48. Sir Robert Brandlyn
49. Sir Iames Granado
50. Sir Christopher Dyer
51. Sir Peter Negro
52. Sir Alonzo de Vile

52 persons, i.e. 4 covens.[1]

[1] Stow, p. 560.

[2] Sir Raufe Auane and Sir Miles Partridge were hanged on 26th February 1550, after being arraigned with the Duke of Somerset, the Protector.

[3] Ibid., p. 607.

[4] Grafton, ii, p. 502.

*Mary*

Condemned after Wyatt's Rebellion, 1554.

1. Sir Thomas Wyatt. Beheaded
2. Henry Isley
3. William Knevett
4. George Harper. Released
5. Leonard Digges
6. Robert Rudston
7. Cuthbert Vaughan. Released
8. Henry Vane
9. (  ) Vicars, yeoman of the Guard. Hanged
10. (  ) King. Hanged
11. Henry Grey Duke of Suffolk. Beheaded
12. Walter Mantell
13. Brother of Walter Mantell
14. (  ) Godfrey
15. Brian Fitzwilliam
16. Captain Alexander Bret. Hanged
17. Thomas Culpeper
18. William Cromer
19. Lord John Grey. Beheaded
20. great John Norton. Hanged
21. Hugh Booth, the Queen's footman
22. Lord Cobham

and forty-three others hanged.[1]

[1] Twenty-two named and forty-three unnamed making sixty-five persons or five covens. See Grafton, Hall and others.

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